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An Irish Quarterly Review

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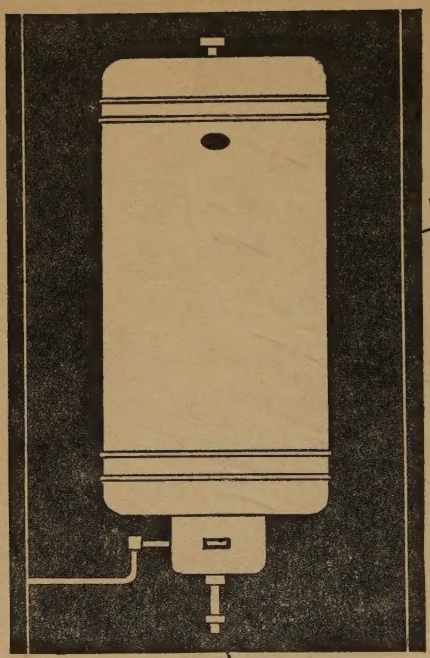

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STUDIES

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SEPTEMBER 1931

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IRISH PORTS AND COMMON SENSE*

BY JOHN J. HORGAN

Chairman, Cork Harbour Commissioners, 1924-25

THE western and southern coasts of Ireland are dotted with ports which only exist in the lively imaginations of civil engineers. Passing from the extreme west to the south, they have projected harbours at Blacksod Bay, Killary Bay, Galway Bay, the Shannon Estuary, Valencia, Berehaven and Dunmanus Bay. Bantry has now been added to the list. Recent articles in STUDIES by Sir John P. Griffith and Mr. Desmond McAteer suggest that it is time the solvent of common sense and experience should be applied to these projects, which only lack cash and concrete to transform them into realities. The writer, although he can claim no engineering knowledge, may perhaps advance nearly twenty years intimate experience of the working of our greatest Irish harbour as an excuse for essaying this necessary task.

Engineers, in dealing with this question, invariably put the cart before the horse. Once they have found a place which is physically suitable for a port, or which by the expenditure of a few million pounds can be made so, they consider the problem to be solved and do not consider the more serious question as to whether it will be used after it is constructed. Moreover, they are as a rule not well versed in, if not entirely ignorant of, the problems of port administration and requirements, which vary entirely according to the purpose and position of each port. There are, for instance, ocean ports, cross channel ports, river ports, ports of call, terminal ports, ports which rely on exports, ports of transit, ports of destination, and (as regards auxiliary service) barge ports,

* *Galway a Sea and Air Port*, by Sir J. P. Griffith (STUDIES, September 1929). *Bantry Bay as a Port of Call*, by Desmond McAteer (STUDIES, June 1931). *The Report of the Ports and Harbours Tribunal* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1930).

rail ports and lorry ports. Some ports combine all these services; others are both by force of natural position and economic forces narrowly circumscribed in their functions. All these considerations interact, and the results have to be carefully weighed and considered before decisions can be usefully arrived at. It is because civil engineers, too often as expert advisers to some particular locality, are not able to see the wood for the trees that their proposals are not only frequently misleading but often dangerous. And whilst seldom materialising, it is nevertheless desirable that they should be criticised and discussed, so that we may create a sense of national perspective on this most important subject.

When the article by Sir John Purser Griffith, advocating the construction of a terminal port at Galway, appeared in September 1929, I sent a letter to the Irish Press,* in which I asked him to answer the following questions:—

(1) Is the figure of £2,000,000 estimated to provide a suitable artificial harbour and breakwater at Galway, a pre-war figure or is it based on present-day costs?

(2) Is this expenditure to be borne by the Free State Exchequer or by the Liner Companies?

(3) Who will bear the cost of conveying passengers and cargo from Galway to London or Paris? If the Steamship Companies, what becomes of the suggested saving to them? If the passengers or the freight payers, will they willingly pay extra for the disturbance caused by two long railway journeys, two or three Customs examinations, and one or two cross-channel passages?

(4) What will be the extra cost of provisioning and fuelling steamers at Galway as compared with British or Continental Ports?

(5) Whether, if a terminal port in Ireland be a possibility, Cork Harbour, which already exists and is only 38 sea miles further from Halifax or New York than the proposed Harbour to be constructed at Galway, or say one hour's run in a fast Liner,

* See *Irish Times*, September 28, 1929.

would not provide with equal advantage at half the cost a natural and satisfactory terminal port, approachable in all tides and weathers, for Atlantic Liners, at a shorter distance from the European capitals and situated on the main Atlantic routes ?

(6) Whether, in any event, any European Steamship Company will willingly abandon its home ports in favour of Galway or Cork as a terminal port for its ships ?

These questions, although they were undoubtedly brought to his notice, have never been answered by Sir John Griffith, nor can they be without finally disposing of his projected Galway terminal port. It is only too obvious that no European Steamship Company will abandon its home ports in favour of Galway or of any other Irish port, even if the very problematical saving in time and expense suggested by Sir John Griffith was achieved, because the loss in comfort, convenience and national interest involved would far outweigh the suggested advantages. Nor will any American Line forego the immense advantage of landing its passengers directly at Southampton, Cherbourg or Hamburg. It is no doubt true that exceptional cases will occasionally arise, where, for instance, a millionaire wishes to save a few hours, and a sea-plane, as has occurred in Cork Harbour, meets a Liner in order to convey him to his destination. One cannot argue from such circumstances that the establishment of an Irish terminal port is either probable or possible.

Moreover, Sir John's article contains statements which are definitely detrimental to existing Irish ports—suggesting, as they do, that large Atlantic Liners cannot find a port in Ireland into which they can safely enter at all states of the tide. This, of course, is the very case which the Cunard Company made in 1913 in order to justify their discreditable conduct in breaking the contract under which they were bound to call for mails at Cobh. At that time the Cork Harbour Commissioners obtained a report from the late Mr. C. S. Meik, one of

the leading Harbour Engineers in England, who stated: "Cork Harbour is one of the best natural Harbours in Great Britain, and there are very few, if any, superior to it in offering accommodation for the very largest class of steamer afloat at all states of the tide."

Sir John Griffith prefers to quote the definitely hostile evidence of the Cunard witnesses, who desired, for obvious reasons, an excuse to transfer their Company's custom to an English port.

In fact, Cork Harbour provides an infinitely better anchorage and a safer approach than Southampton, which Sir John cites as the only British port which the largest and fastest vessels can enter in all weathers and at all states of tide. Nor is it accurate to suggest, as he does, that weather conditions frequently interfere at Cobh with the transfer of mails and passengers to tenders. Those unfamiliar with the real facts might naturally conclude that, because Galway is at present used as a port of call by a few Liners, it can be used also as a terminal port. It is well to examine the matter in detail.

The North German Lloyd Line began to use Galway in 1928, because it had failed to obtain passenger traffic at Cobh and hoped to thus secure the western emigrants. It was immediately followed by its rivals. The call is only possible in fine weather, because the vessels have to lie some miles outside in the relatively unsheltered waters of Galway Bay. Moreover the service is much hampered by the fact that Galway Docks, from which the passenger tender starts, are really a tidal basin filled with mud and open to the ebb and flow of the tide, so that the tender can only sail at high water, and consequently the Liners have often to wait for many hours before passengers can be transferred.

The largest vessel which can now safely enter Galway Docks, and only at high water, is one drawing about 16 feet. It is obvious that the essential development in Galway is not the construction of a £2,000,000 terminal

port, but the provision of such facilities as will enable the existing port to function as a proper port of call. These would involve the cutting of an approach channel, the construction of a new pier and the completion of the unfinished docks—all at a cost of £335,000.* This expenditure will naturally require State aid, and it is in this direction that the people of Galway are now wisely moving. It might be well, however, before such expenditure is undertaken to obtain from the Liner Companies some guarantee that their Galway call is likely to be permanently maintained.

So much for Sir John Griffith's proposal. Mr McAteer is more modest. He proposes the expenditure of a quarter of a million on the provision of a deep water Quay in Whiddy Harbour, Bantry Bay. Like Sir John Griffith, he seems to labour under the delusion that quay or wharf accommodation for Liners is an essential requirement in a port of call. Practically no modern Liner ever comes alongside a quay in a port of call. Anyone acquainted with conditions at Cherbourg, Cobh, Southampton, Lisbon or any of the South American ports is aware that Liners when using those ports as ports of call are always served by passenger tenders and never come alongside a quay. The reasons for this are vital and include the loss of time, expense, difficulty of manœuvre, and the compliance with port and customs regulations which such procedure would involve. One has only to watch a large modern Liner being manœuvred to her berth at New York, Liverpool or Southampton to realize the difficulties to be surmounted, which incidentally include the assistance of several tugs. In addition, those difficulties vary according to wind and tide, as the size of the ships make these factors of increasing importance. This very year the Cork Harbour Commissioners offered to provide an extension to the existing deep water quay at Cobh at which the largest Liners could berth; but not

* See *Harbour Tribunal Report*, p. 177.

a single steamship company expressed a desire to have the work carried out, and all except one, refused even to consider it, owing to the long delay and heavy additional expense involved in the operation of using same.

The tendency to save time is further illustrated by the fact that in the summer months the Liners calling at Cobh (Cork Harbour) almost invariably anchor in the outer Liner anchorage outside Roche's Point, while the new German Liners *Europa* and *Bremen*, when they call at Southampton, anchor off Calshot in the Solent and do not attempt to enter Southampton Water.

All that is therefore necessary for a port of call is a safe anchorage and the provision of an efficient tender service at all states of tide and weather. These are all present at Cobh, and it would therefore seem to be a work of supererogation to spend a quarter of a million pounds in providing them at the eastern end of Bantry Bay, where they are never likely to be used.

Let us further consider Mr. McAteer's statement, that in order to attract Atlantic shipping it is necessary to offer a deep water wharf in a port of call.

Three classes of ocean steamers use harbours, and all have different requirements as regards port accommodation. First there are full cargo steamers, which take in their cargo at one port and deliver it at another. They require a deep water quay or wharf at both ports, and are attracted by good warehousing accommodation and proper machinery for loading and discharge. At Cork we provide for these steamers in the Upper Harbour, or River Port, where steamers up to 450 feet in length and 27 feet fresh water draught can be accommodated with proper facilities. It is proposed to increase the depth to 30 feet at low water in the near future.

The second class are intermediate steamers with good passenger accommodation, taking some heavy cargo as ballast between the terminal ports and smaller lots of goods for the various ports at which they call. They only

come to a quay at their terminal ports; intermediate port cargo is taken off and put on by lighter. The Royal Mail and other steamers trading with South America are of this class. Between Southampton and Buenos Aires calls for passengers and cargo are made at Vigo, Lisbon, Madeira, Cape de Verd, Pernambuco, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Santos, and Monte Video. At all these ports, except the last three, landing and loading are done by lighter and tender, in some cases in unsheltered roadsteads. Steamers of this class do not visit any Irish harbour, nor, owing to cross channel services, are they likely to do so.

The third class of ocean steamers, with which we are more directly concerned in this article, are full passenger steamers, generally called Liners, taking passengers chiefly, with only a small quantity of cargo as ballast, between terminal ports. The North Atlantic steamers which call at or pass the Irish Coast are all of this class, and any small parcels they may take for intermediate ports are delivered by the passenger tender. There is, therefore, no reason whatever why they should waste time and money in coming alongside a quay in an Irish port.

It is, therefore, apparent that the time factor is the most important of all where these Liners are concerned, and in deciding on a port of call it is inevitably the most essential fact involved. The diversion from the steamer's course to a port of call is thus the most important point. Cape Clear, Galway and Whiddy Harbour (Bantry) are all practically the same distance from New York. The diversion distance is thus the distance from Cape Clear to Galway, 189 miles; from Cape Clear to Whiddy 44 miles. For Cork Harbour the diversion distance is 10 miles to the outer anchorage and 16 miles to the inner anchorage. Were a Liner to be perverse enough to decide to berth at Cobh Deep Water Quay, the diversion distance would be 22 miles. Moreover, the passengers land at Cobh alongside a fast main line train service,

which is only 177 miles from Dublin. From Bantry to Dublin is 225 miles.

All these reasons make it certain that Cork Harbour, which has all the necessary facilities for existing services, will remain the principal Irish port of call for ocean-going ships.

But there are other aspects of Mr. McAteer's article to which I must refer. He, no doubt inadvertently, makes two statements about Cork Harbour which are entirely inaccurate and which completely shatter his financial conclusions. He states that the capital cost of a deep water wharf at Cobh is estimated at £500,000, and that continual dredging would have to be done at a yearly cost of at least £20,000. This statement is quite inaccurate, and as the real facts are to be found in the *Harbour Tribunal Report* (p. 75) there is small excuse for his mistake. The truth is that the existing deep water quay at Cobh could be extended to berth a liner of 16,000 to 20,000 tons at any stage of the tide at a cost of approximately £50,000. This would include some dredging in the Lower Harbour; but no maintenance dredging would be necessary, as the charts prove that for eleven miles up the river from the harbour entrance the natural scour of the river continues to deepen the navigable channels. There would, therefore, be no charge for continual dredging as suggested by Mr. McAteer.

If we, therefore, tabulate the comparative costs of development for the four suggested ports we arrive at the following figures, and the superior claims of Bantry disappear :—

Place	*Capital Cost*	*Annual Charges*
Galway	£2,000,000	£120,000
Blacksod	1,500,000	110,000
Bantry	250,000	15,000
Cobh	50,000	3,000

But I suggest that, inasmuch as no Liner is likely to use the deep water quay at Cobh, it is an entirely unnecessary expenditure and that therefore, as far as Cork Harbour is concerned, the capital cost and annual charges should both be nil.

As regards an air service from Cobh I cannot do better than quote the *Harbour Tribunal Report*:—[1]

> Cobh is most favourably situated for such a service and possesses, we believe, all the physical attributes necessary for a safe and satisfactory seaplane base. The matter has already been the subject of consideration and enquiry by the Harbour Commissioners, and in our opinion it should be pursued effectively, so that whatever special facilities are called for may be available when the demand arises.

It only remains to add that Cobh is nearer by air to all the principal European capitals than Galway or Bantry.

I must also refer to the question of a Free Port, which is raised by Mr. McAteer. I think this matter was first seriously raised in the evidence given by me before the Harbour Tribunal in February 1927.[2] I then suggested that Cork Harbour, and the island of Haulbowline in particular, offered an ideal site for such a port. The question is one of considerable difficulty, and I confess that the conclusions at which I then arrived have been since greatly modified by further consideration of the possibilities and limitations of such an undertaking. The conditions under which the existing European Free Ports originated were largely economic and political. Marts for the exchange and purchase of goods arose in different localities during the formative years of the Middle Ages, and these Marts obtained certain privileges, first as a matter of convenience and afterwards by legislative sanction, the principal being their freedom from Customs duties, which were then relatively small and unimportant. Outstanding examples of this tendency

[1] *Harbour Tribunal Report*, p. 78. [2] *Harbour Tribunal Report* p. 79.

were the Hanseatic towns, the Italian Settlements in the Levant, and the Great Fairs, such as that of Leipzig, established as early as 1268. Such ports have never existed in England, which, because of its Free Trade policy, found the bonding system (which also exists in the Free State) sufficient for its needs. But on the Continent of Europe many such ports have existed and still exist. Marseilles and Dunkirk were both Free Ports during the Middle Ages, but France has since adopted the bonding system, although quite recently there has been an agitation for the establishment of a French Free Port on the Atlantic. In Italy Ancona, Brindisi, Venice and Genoa were all Free Ports, but now only storing privileges remain in these places. Amongst the largest and most important modern Free Ports are Hamburg, Copenhagen, Bremerhaven, Stockholm, Singapore and Hong Kong. The term "Free Port" does not imply that the whole of the Port so designated is free. The modern practice is to set aside a portion of the port for the purpose.

It is to be observed that the successful European Free Ports are all situated on the European mainland and have behind them an almost unlimited hinterland through which their imports can be distributed without transhipment. This would not apply to any Free Port in Ireland. Moreover, an Irish Free Port would have to face the close competition of the existing English ports, all virtually free, and no doubt if a tariff policy is adopted in England a Free Port will be established in Liverpool or elsewhere. It is obviously better business for American exporters to send their goods to English or continental ports, where profitable return cargoes await their ships, and unless American support is definitely assured an Irish Free Port would have little prospect of success. The proportion of American goods consigned to or from Ireland is, as Mr. McAteer points out, negligible, but on account of the Ford Factory the most of what there is passes through the Port of Cork.

For all these reasons I agree with the conclusion of the Harbour Tribunal that a Free Port is "an indertaking which should be entered on only after the most thorough inquiry"—and, may I add, after definite assurance of American support, because no European country will willingly patronise or support a Free Port in the Irish Free State. Something might be done on a small, experimental scale in a place like Haulbowline where facilities are available, but more than this should not be attempted without exhaustive inquiry. There is certainly no case whatever for embarking on such a project in a place like Bantry.

The purpose of this article would not be achieved if I have not made it abundantly clear that our policy of national port development should be directed to improving and developing our present harbours, whose existing development is due to natural and economic causes which have not changed and are not likely to change in the near future. Expenditure on such schemes as those suggested by Sir John Griffith and Mr. Desmond McAteer would be of no national or local benefit other than the employment involved in their construction.

JOHN J. HORGAN

Comments on the Foregoing Article

No. 1.—BY SENATOR SIR JOHN P. GRIFFITH, M.A.I., M.INST. C.E.

Past President of the Institution of Civil Engineers
Engineer to the Dublin Port and Docks Board, 1871-1913

IT appears to me that Mr. Horgan has completely failed to grasp the problem of dealing with the high speed mails and passenger traffic from the United States and Canada to Europe. He has concentrated his principal arguments to a defence of Cobh as a Port of Call. I am not aware of any attempt to depreciate the value of Cobh Harbour as a useful and safe Port of Call for vessels of reasonable size. In the days of sailing vessels it was a Port of Call for fleets of large vessels to receive orders, and for many

years the American mailsteamers sailing from Liverpool called at Cobh to pick up English mails, which were transmitted through Ireland by a special mail service. The increase in the speed of steamers engaged in transatlantic service led to the claim that nothing was gained by picking up the mails at Cobh instead of shipping them in Liverpool, and it was in consequence of the agitation in favour of this alteration that Viscount Morley, when Chief Secretary for Ireland, uttered the famous words : " Do not let Ireland be pushed off the great high road between the West and the East."

That has been my aim in examining the present aspect of this problem. I have no object but, if possible, to prevent Ireland from being thrown off this high road. I may say at once that in my opinion it has become purely an economic problem, which cannot be surrendered to sentiment.

With the gradual increase in the size and speed of vessels engaged in the transatlantic mail and passenger services, the fate of Cobh as a Port of Call for the high speed vessels was sealed. With the introduction by the Cunard Company of the *Lusitania* and the *Mauretania* the Company protested against being required to call at Cobh, and under parliamentary pressure the Postmaster General, Mr. C. Hobhouse, in 1914 appointed a special Committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Sydenham, to enquire into the circumstances under which the Cunard Company had discontinued their call at Cobh on their outward voyage to America. I was invited by the Postmaster General to become a member of this Committee. I was also urged to act on it by the Cork Harbour Commissioners, by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and by Mr. John Redmond, M.P., the Leader of the Irish Party in Parliament.

My reply was that I did not think it would be wise or politic for me to accept the invitation, as it was widely known that for many years I had expressed the opinion that Cobh could not be retained as a Port of Call in Ireland for the American Mails. I felt that if the result of the investigation by the Committee was adverse to Cobh, it would certainly cause local dissatisfaction, and the Government would be blamed for placing me on the Committee.

The Committee met in July 1914, and its findings were not favourable to retaining Cobh as a Port of Call for vessels of the class of the *Lusitania* and *Mauretania.*

Mr. Horgan refers to a letter which he sent to the *Irish Times* on September 28, 1929, when my article on " Galway, a Sea and

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Air Port" appeared in the September number of STUDIES, in which he asked certain questions. These questions he enumerates in his article and complains that I never answered them, a statement which I fail to understand, as it is contrary to the facts. When Mr. Horgan's letter appeared in the *Irish Times* I was absent in Scotland, and on my return my attention was drawn to it, and on the 10th October 1929 I wrote to him as follows :—

Dear Mr. Horgan

My attention has been called to your letter on "An Irish Terminal Port," which has appeared in several papers, and I am in full sympathy with you that the questions you raise should be investigated. I am, however convinced that there is no use in a newspaper controversy on a purely technical problem. I therefore do not take part in such controversies.

I enclose a Memorandum which deals with most of your points. There are, however, many others of a technical nature, which should be dealt with by a Commission of experts in shipping matters.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN P. GRIFFITH.

The following is a copy of the Memorandum referred to in my letter

GALWAY NATIONAL HARBOUR

1. The £2,000,000 for works is the estimate at present day prices.

2. I consider the Galway Bay Harbour a National Harbour which should be owned and constructed by the Government, just as the British Government constructed Kingstown Harbour, Holyhead Harbour and Dover Harbour. The mail and passenger steamers using the Harbour would pay rates for its use, just as they do in Southampton.

3. I have advocated Galway as a terminal port for a high speed mail and passenger service, which is now practically absorbed at Southampton, between the Cunard and White Star Companies. It was never contemplated as a cargo port for England, or to compete in this trade with London, Liverpool, Manchester or Glasgow.

As regards the cost of transit, I do not think there need be any extra cost to passengers between British and American centres than the present charges.

4. To well organised shipping Companies there will be no difficulty in regard to fuel or commissariat.

5. Cork Harbour has been officially admitted to be unsuitable for vessels of the size of the *Mauretania*, and the liners recently built are much larger.

6. The reason for a Galway and Halifax service is purely an economic problem, as described in my papers.

7. The Senate asked for the problem to be investigated. This could only be done by an expert Commission accustomed to shipping problems.

Mr. Horgan acknowledged this letter and Memorandum in the following terms :—

50 South Mall, Cork.
11*th October*, 1929.

Dear Sir John Griffith,

Many thanks for your letter of the 10th inst., with enclosure. I am glad that you agree with me that the questions I have raised are of vital importance, and we must only hope that they will be answered satisfactorily before anything is spent on your project.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN J. HORGAN.

Under these circumstances I fail to understand Mr. Horgan's charge of discourtesy on my part when he says : " These questions, although they were undoubtedly brought to his notice, have never been answered by Sir John Griffith."

I have already pointed out that the question of a high speed mail and passenger service between Galway and Halifax is purely an economic problem. I claim for it a smaller amount in capital in the fleet of ships in commission and in spare ships required to ensure continuity in the service. Fewer vessels will be required, a greater number of voyages will be made by each vessel, and the overhead charges per voyage will be reduced.

When I made these calculations some years ago, I based them on the cost and working expenses of the *Mauretania*. The assumption was that she could complete the cycle of the outward and homeward voyages from Southampton to New York in three weeks, whereas if employed on a Galway and Halifax service the cycle of outward and homeward voyages could be done in two weeks. Since these calculations were made, much larger and more costly vessels have been placed on the service, and the *Mauretania* is now the smallest of the six vessels in commission on the Southampton and New York Service.

The saving in capital in the reduced cost of the necessary fleet would far exceed the cost of the necessary harbour works in Galway Bay.

It is scarcely necessary to say much in reference to Bantry as a Port of Call. The problem before us is not the question of a Port of Call but that of a Terminal Port. I may say, however, that I do not believe any responsible Master would undertake to bring the present class of large liner into Bantry Harbour, and that Cobh has no cause to fear the adoption of Bantry as a Port of Call.

In regard to a Free Port in Ireland, for which Mr. Horgan was one of the advocates before the Ports and Harbours Tribunal

(1930), I am glad to find that he has recanted and now confesses that the conclusions at which he had arrived when the Tribunal sat have been since greatly modified by further consideration of the possibilities and limitations of such an undertaking. The conditions of Ireland are in no way comparable with those of Northern Europe, where Free Ports exist as bonded stores, warehouses or factories in connection with the ice-bound ports of the Baltic or, as in the case of Hamburg, the ice-bound hinterland along the Elbe. While these districts are closed in winter, free imports can be received in the Free Ports and be distributed when the thaw has set in. No such conditions exist in connection with Ireland, and bonded warehouses fulfil all our requirements.

I am glad to be in full accord with Mr. Horgan that the "*solvent of common sense and experience should be applied to those projects.*" If this is done, I have great hopes that Ireland will obtain the full advantage of her unique geographical position, and will regain her rightful place on the Great High Road between West and East.

JOHN P. GRIFFITH

No. 2.—BY DESMOND MCATEER, A.R.C.SC.I., M.INST. C.E.I.

President of the Engineering and Scientific Asssociation of Ireland

THE first comment I must make on Mr. Horgan's article is that he seems to have misunderstood the main reasons underlying the Galway Terminal Port and the Bantry Port of Call proposals. The reasons are quite different in each case.

While leaving Mr. Horgan's remarks about Galway in the capable hands of Sir John Griffith, I must point out that his question No. 5 on page 354 suggests that Cork Harbour is situated on the main Atlantic traffic routes. This is not a fact. The main Atlantic traffic routes pass one hundred miles south of the Irish Coast, because the main transport of passengers and mails to European ports is by the English Channel.

Mr. Horgan is not correct in stating that the question of the use of a Port of Call has not been considered. It has been very fully considered, and every endeavour has been made to get all necessary information on the matter. In fact the requests for statistics were so pertinent that the information was refused by the North Atlantic Passenger Conference and the North Atlantic Westbound Freight Association on the grounds of being inimical to the interests of the members. However the figures were

obtained, and the summary figures for North Atlantic trade given in my article have not been previously published. The experience of Cobh Harbour was also analysed. The record of port dues given in Table A of the published accounts of the Cork Harbour Commissioners was studied, as well as Questions 4909 to 4913 of the Ports and Harbours Tribunal. An estimate was then made of the loss sustained by the Harbour Commissioners in catering for transatlantic vessels. These figures were of use in determining the procedure to be adopted by Bantry. The financial proposals, however, were not given in the article on Bantry, as I was merely describing the physical aspects of Bantry Bay for the purpose of a Port of Call. It was necessary also to make physical comparisons with other harbours.

In his opening paragraph and again in the third paragraph on page 358 Mr. Horgan suggests that I have projected a harbour in Bantry Bay, and have proposed that a quarter of a million pounds should be spent in providing a safe anchorage and a tender service. Of course, I have not. The harbour and safe anchorage exist at Whiddy, and a suitable tender plies locally.

The question of whether or not to build a deep water quay is a different matter. Suppose it were left out and real first class liners are considered, then the capital and running cost at Bantry are both nil; but, in spite of Mr. Horgan's contention on pp. 360 and 361, there would be both capital and maintenance dredging required at Cobh Harbour. The present anchorage is not wide enough for ships drawing 39 feet and measuring 900 feet on the water line. Its improvement by capital dredging was recommended by Mr. Meik in 1913 and by Mr. Nicholson in 1922. In 1923 Messrs. Meik and Buchanan were asked to advise on the possibility of siltation occurring at three different places in the Lower Harbour, and in each case they advised that periodical dredging would be required. Again, before the Ports and Harbours Tribunal, Mr. Hennessy the protagonist for Cobh admitted that "a little dredging would be essential from time to time." Mr. Horgan, even without engineering knowledge, should know that the Lee and the Nile are famous for their silt and mud.

My suggestion of building a deep water quay (*i.e.* a quay giving 42 feet at L.W.S.) comes in for much castigation from Mr. Horgan. He bases his objections on three grounds, which may be stated as follows :—

(1) No modern liner ever comes alongside a quay in a Port of Call. Liners using Cobh, Cherbourg, Southampton and Lisbon as Ports of Call do not come alongside the quay on account of loss of time, expense, difficulty of manoeuvre and port regulations.

(2) Liner Companies refused to allow their ships to berth at the proposed deepened quay at Cobh town.

(3) There is no reason why liners should waste time coming alongside a quay in an Irish port, as the cargo for Ireland consists only of small parcels and can be delivered by tender.

I do not consider any of the above objections sound because :—

(1) Cobh, Southampton and Lisbon are notoriously difficult ports from the navigation standpoint. There is a tide of six knots or more in the Tagus at Lisbon, and yet I think mariners will agree that it is probably the easiest of access of these ports. The objection to berthing is not the trouble of tying up but the difficulty and danger of coming alongside the berth. Of course in the case of Cherbourg, Cobh and Lisbon the berths do not exist and in Southampton they can seldom be made available for ships merely calling. On the other hand, if Mr. Horgan takes a Union Castle Liner on its round trip from Southampton *via* Capetown and Kilindini to Southampton, he will find that the majority of the Ports of Call have established deep water quays and that the liners tie up to them.

(2) Mr. Horgan cannot really base any objection on the refusal of the Companies to use a quay at Cobh town, because without very great improvements to the entrance and the channel there would be great danger in reaching such a quay. He seems to be under the impression that Cobh Harbour in its present state is suitable for handling liner traffic. The Companies, however, disagree ; and Mr. Canavan, representative of the United States Lines, stated before the Ports and Harbours Tribunal that " if it were a first class port handling first class passenger traffic only, the present facilities at Cobh would not be allowed to exist." Passengers prefer to walk ashore on a gangway, and this reasonable preference must be catered for, if a service is to compete.

Mr. Horgan does not state that the Companies were asked for an opinion as to whether there would be any physical difficulty in coming alongside the Cuskinny Pier if Mr. Nicholson's recommendations as to the improvements to the entrance and the channel were carried out. Mr. Nicholson says : " It is my opinion beyond all doubt that a vessel can berth alongside a pier in this location in a gale without any difficulty and without assistance from tugs." The proposed deep water quay at Bantry would be quite as favourably situated as the Cuskinny Pier, and the approach would be all that the most cautious navigator could require.

(3) This is just exactly the point which Mr. Horgan has missed

in the suggestions for Bantry. It is not proposed that the Port of Call should be established primarily for the purpose of landing either mails, passengers or cargo for Ireland. The main reason for a Port of Call is that the transport of mails and passengers between Europe and America will be facilitated thereby. The suggestion is that the Port of Call would exist as the point of interchange between sea and air transport for mails and a portion of the first class passenger traffic. It will be seen, therefore, that there is no point at all in this objection of Mr. Horgan's.

Mr. Horgan on p. 360 states that my figures for the cost of the deep water wharf at Cobh are quite inaccurate and that the real figures are to be found on p. 75 of the Harbour Tribunal Report. It is true that, with reference to an entirely non-technical scheme for constructing a jetty at Cobh town, to give a depth alongside of 30 ft., a statement was made that the cost would be £50,000. As an Atlantic liner would be stranded alongside such a jetty, even at high water of neap tides, it cannot be considered as assisting in any way in the Port of Call problem. The really serious and competent estimates of the cost to develop Cobh Harbour so as to accommodate transatlantic liners are given in paragraph 276 of the Harbour Tribunal Report. I have somewhat favoured Cobh by putting the figure for capital cost as low as £500,000. On the question of maintenance dredging, as I have pointed out above, all the authorities and local opinion are against Mr. Horgan.

Mr. Horgan, for all his castigation, does not really dispute any of my claims for Bantry Bay, and the only blot he can find on the escutcheon of Bantry is that it is 225 miles from Dublin, whereas Cobh town is only 177. As it is not proposed that any of the main routes to and from the Port of Call should pass through Dublin, the point is not really against Bantry.

DESMOND MCATEER

No 3.—BY T. J. W. KENNY

Editor of the *Connacht Tribune*

ONE cannot but admire the brilliant piece of special pleading that Mr. John J. Horgan puts forward for the southern Port of Call. The conclusion of the whole matter is that there should be only one ocean port in the country, and that that port should be Cobh. If Galway dares to lay claim to the unrivalled position that it holds on the Atlantic, it should speak only with becoming

modesty—declaring that, after Cobh has been made the principal ocean port in the country, it will be quite content to take a secondary or minor place.

This is common-sense—with a Cork bias! Let us proceed to examine the position from the point of view of the Province of Connacht, of the Port of Galway, and of the nation.

It may be taken as axiomatic that so long as the western coastline of Ireland remains poor, the country will be poor. Enrich the west coast, and its wealth and prosperity will inevitably flow eastward, transfusing new life and hope throughout the entire island. A fundamental factor in its economic salvation is the utilisation of its outlet to the broad Atlantic—the development, wherever this is found possible and practicable, of its transoceanic trade, of its coastal trade, of its deep sea fishing. This being so, it is vital to the interests of the Province of Connacht and of prime importance to the nation as a whole that the Port of Galway should be developed to the utmost practical extent.

So much for general principles. Now for the arguments which Mr. Horgan—rather regrettably, as it seems to me—uses against Galway. I do not suggest that Mr. Horgan is guilty of "the gloomy comparisons of a disturbed imagination," but I do state very definitely that no useful purpose can be served by making comparisons that are built on fallacies, however inadvertent those fallacies may be.

To begin with, Mr. Horgan suggests that the North German Lloyd Line "began to use Galway in 1928, because it had failed to obtain passenger traffic at Cobh, and hoped thus to secure the western emigrants." German shipping companies had been considering the utilisation of a deep-water port on the west coast of Ireland when this subject had been discussed with Sir Roger Casement prior to the war. Incidentally, it will be recalled with gratitude that Sir Roger did magnificent work for Cobh. The North German Lloyd, following a conference which representatives of the Galway Chamber of Commerce had with its passenger director and with members of the German Transport Ministry, and following representations made long prior to this by Connacht Irish Societies in the United States, began to use the Galway port in May of 1927. They have used it increasingly ever since, and Directeur Stadtlander has given an undertaking to Galway that so long as the German Lloyd remains on the North Atlantic, so long shall it continue to use Galway Port. That undertaking was fulfilled in the spirit and in the letter at a recent conference of North Atlantic shipping companies held in Paris.

The suggestion runs throughout Mr. Horgan's article, by implication, that Galway is a modern port of call for ocean liners. A glance through Hardiman's *History* will convince him that it was a great trading and passenger port hundreds of years ago. To come to more modern times, the Cunard Company commenced a weekly service from Liverpool to Boston and New York in 1840, and on the 21 April 1859, it entered into a contract for fortnightly sailings between Galway-Boston-New York. Earlier than this, on the 22 October 1858, monthly services were arranged between Galway, Newfoundland and the United States. An abstract from the records of the Galway Harbour Commissioners shows that between 1882 and 1910 two hundred and fifty of the largest liners then afloat entered and sailed from Galway without a single hitch. The service was by tender to a wooden jetty, and was not thus affected by the tides. The manner in which that original transatlantic scheme was brought to an end is revealed in the inquiry subsequently held in London. If Mr. Horgan will read that tale of bribery and corruption and of Irish betrayal, he will perhaps the better appreciate that the resurgent Galway of to-day has little patience with a policy that would discredit or belittle its claims.

When Mr. Horgan states that "the call to Galway is only possible in fine weather," he is really inviting a comparison that will do Cobh little good. Galway is absolutely fog free in all weathers. The Bay can be entered without a pilot. There is ample room to manœuvre the largest liner afloat, and absolute safety with six fathoms of water up almost to Mutton Island lighthouse. Not merely is the Bay sheltered by the natural breakwater of the three islands of Aran which stand athwart the opening, but it is sheltered from the prevailing sou'-westerly winds by the iron-bound hills of Clare. It is not true to say that "vessels have to lie some miles outside in relatively unsheltered waters." There has been no case on record, either in winter or summer, in which any difficulty has been experienced in transferring passengers, luggage and mails from liner to tender or from tender to liner, *and no liner has ever yet had to pass Galway Bay.*

The tidal docks to which Mr. Horgan refers with, I am sure, inadvertent inaccuracy are about to be dredged, and a scheme to develop Galway as a commercial and fishery port and as a port of call for transoceanic liners at all states of the tide is now before the Government, with the guarantee behind it of the available surplus revenue of the Galway Harbour Commissioners,

of 1s. in the £ from the Galway Urban Council and of 4d. in the £ from the county-at-large. In these days the ratepaying community does not guarantee a loan for £200,000 without the utmost belief in the project on which it is to be expended. If and when this development scheme is completed, Mr. Horgan's only factual criticism of Galway as a port of call will finally disappear.

Even as things are, there have been few delays at Galway harbour, and these, when they have occurred, have been amply compensated for by the admirable radial centre for travel throughout all Ireland that Galway affords. A glance at the excellent distance chart that Mr. P. J. Raftery, B.E., has recently produced will prove the truth of my argument. A report that lies before me from the Reception Officer of the Irish Tourist Association who works at Galway docks shows that, up to August 9 of this year, 3,239 tourist passengers were landed here, and that there was no complaint, but considerable praise, of the facilities afforded, of the courtesy and expedition of the Customs officers, and of the ease with which passengers could reach their far-flung homes.

No doubt, Sir John Purser Griffith will deal with the larger scheme for a transatlantic terminal port at Furbough, some six miles outside Galway. This and an air port can only be made possible by outside co-operation, and it is significant that such co-operation is now being obtained, not at the instigation of Galwaymen merely, but upon the initiative of others who believe in the practicability of a terminal port in Galway Bay.

Finally, let me say that I have always refused to enter into disparaging comparisons between Cobh and Galway. I believe that both of them are essential to the life of Saorstat Eireann, and that both of them, serving kindred or different interests, can be mutually helpful. It is well, however, in the interests of the country as a whole that such comparisons should not be too frequently challenged ; for if those who believe in Galway are put on the defensive, they must invoke the old axiom that the best defence is offence—and, from the reports which I have before me, an offensive campaign against Cobh, regrettable though it might be in the national interests, would be singularly devastating.

T. J. W. Kenny

CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND

BY REV. P. W. BROWNE, D.D., PH.D.

THE story of Catholicism in Newfoundland during the eighteenth century runs in almost parallel lines with the history of Ireland during penal days, and the record of its struggles against British oppression reads like a chapter from the Book of Machabees. Briefly, this was an attempt to crush every effort made by Irish exiles to conserve the heritage for which their forefathers had fought and bled. Priests were hounded like wolves, and the people were subjected to enactments—euphemistically termed " Regulations "—whose sole purpose was to destroy Catholic faith. Tyranny supervened when enactments failed, and then supine neglect filled to overflowing the cup of bitter anguish. Yet, the hapless colonists did not " sit by the waters of Babylon and weep "; they strove manfully, sowed the seed of betterment, and reaped a goodly harvest.

In no other section of North America were such great deeds for the faith accomplished by Colonists as in Newfoundland—except, possibly, in the progressive Province of Quebec where the " new subjects " brought about a *volte-face* in the policy of a colonial oligarchy of alien faith, whose *penitential wail* found expression in the passage of the Quebec Act, by the British Parliament, in 1774. To-day the Catholic Church in the Province of Quebec occupies a supreme position, commands universal respect, and wields an influence which dominates the political atmosphere of the Canadian Commonwealth. The fact is that French-Canadians preserved Canada to the British Empire : " Except for the French occupation of the St. Lawrence valley and Acadia, it can hardly be doubted that Canada would have passed out of the British orbit."[1]

[1] Borden, *Canada in the Commonwealth*, p. vi. (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1929) Sir Robert Borden, former Premier of Canada, is a descendant of an Empire loyalist.

What has been said of the Catholic Church in Quebec may also be said of the Church in Newfoundland, where despite bitter persecution and the obloquy of pavonine officialdom it now holds an exalted place, and wields an influence that is paramount. The secret of this remarkable change must be sought in the aggressive attitude of its prelates and the zeal of an apostolic priesthood; and its most significant feature, perhaps, is a school system which has a centurial record of notable achievement.

Before discussing the history of Catholic education in Newfoundland, it is necessary to note the difficulties which beset teachers and pupils in the island. These difficulties are referable to days when the "Colonial Cinderella" was a victim to harsh and unnatural treatment.[1] For the sake of its fisheries, that "were richer than the mines of Golconda or Peru," Newfoundland was maintained for centuries as the exclusive preserve of Devonian adventurers. England's attitude towards the island is well expressed by a distinguished French scientist who has written what the writer regards as the most graphic account of the country ever published :—

> Les Stuarts ne voulaient pas que fût colonisée une terre dont les habitants eussent concurrencé les pêcheurs du Devonshire. Les rois de Hanovre n'entendaient accorder aucune tolérance à des sujets émigrés d'Irlande. Il fallut la nomination d'un gouverneur philosophe, le vice-amiral Gambier, pour que la cour écoutât les plaintes des colons . . . . . Dès qu'elle fut colonie autonome, Terre Neuve prit conscience de ses intérêts.[2]

Another little item indicates the attitude of the hidebound Devonian when local Irish statesmen such as Kent and Patrick Morris, were striving to secure a moiety of Representative Government for the island (1830-32) :—

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[1] Harvey, *Historical Sketch of Newfoundland*, p. 22, says : "No colony of the British Empire ever received such harsh and unnatural treatment from the Imperial Mother."

[2] Perret, *La Géographie de Terre Neuve*, p. (Paris : Guilmoto, 1913).

The bitterest antagonists of the measure were the old West Country merchants; the idea of Newfoundland having a legislature was to their minds simply outrageous. One of them, Peter Ougier, stated in his evidence (before the House of Commons): "They are making roads in Newfoundland; next thing they will have carriages and driving about . . . ." There can be no doubt that it was the influence of these West Country merchants that retarded the grant of a local legislature.[1]

Newfoundland is the tenth largest island in the world, irregular in shape, with the general outline of a triangle. Its greatest length is about three hundred and seventeen miles, and its extreme breadth about the same. In size it is 11,200 miles larger than Ireland, three times as large as Holland, and twice as large as Denmark. The coastline is deeply indented by fiords, bays and inlets, and the seaboard has a total stretch of 6,010 miles, dotted with 1,400 settlements, and some of these have fewer than twenty families, chiefly fisher folk, who constitute about eighty per cent. of the entire population, which does not exceed 260,000. The island has some 93,000 Catholics, mostly of Irish extraction. It has few towns, the largest being St. John's, the capital, with a population of about 35,000. Next in size are Harbor Grace, Carbonear, Bonavista, Grand Falls, Corner Brook, Bay of Islands, and St. George's, in none of which does the population exceed 5,000. There are not more than half-a-dozen inland settlements, and the oldest—Whitbourne—was not established until 1890.

Not until recent years were there any good roads outside the peninsula of Avalon; and even at the present time, between the outports lying along the south and the north coast, the only means of communication by land is a footpath, and the chief means of transportation is a ferry.

The first impetus given to the development of Newfoundland came from Lord Gambier (1802-3), "who was

[1] Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, p. 428. (London: Macmillan, 1895).

far in advance of his age, both in regard to his views on the future prospects and government of the colony, and in the furthering of all humane and benevolent ideas for educating the settlers' children and civilizing the poor Beothics."[1] During his governorship, provision was made for the establishment of two schools in St. John's, " one for Catholics and one for Protestants " ; but prior to this the Rev. Louis Amadeus Anspach, an Anglican minister, had opened a Grammar School in St. John's, which evidently was not a success ; for there is record that Mr. Anspach held a position as Justice of the Peace at Harbor Grace in 1802, while at the same time he did duty as an Anglican missionary in Conception Bay. It was not unusual in those days, when the Anglican Church was supreme in Newfoundland, for a minister of the Gospel to occupy a government position. The Rev. Edward Langman, M.A., Oxon., filled the position of chief justice in the colony between 1777 and 1785, and some of the most outrageous proceedings, mainly directed against poor Irish Roman Catholics, occurred during his tenure of chief-justiceship. In 1785 he had grown so arrogant that he refused to serve as a justice unless he was made Keeper of the Rolls ; and on the 6th of October of that year Governor Campbell struck his name off the Commission of the Peace.[2]

No real advancement as regards public instruction was made until 1823, when Samuel Codner, a Newfoundland merchant, with the aid of friends in England, organized " The Society for educating the poor of Newfoundland." The name of the organization was later changed to " The Newfoundland School Society," and finally it became " The Colonial and Continental Church

[1] Prowse, *op. cit.*, p. 376. The Beothics, the aboriginal inhabitants of Newfoundland, were a branch of the Algonquin tribe that formerly occupied a large part of north-eastern America.

[2] Prowse, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

Society." Through the influence of the Earl of Liverpool the Imperial Government granted five hundred pounds to build a central school in St. John's, one hundred pounds annually for its headmaster, free passages for all its teachers in H. M. transports, and grants of land for school purposes in several parts of the island. We are told that the first teachers of the schools—

> Were admirably suited for the work, well-trained, earnest, religious men; their enthusiasm and their success soon excited a universal desire for the Society's schools throughout the Colony; their non-sectarian plan of education, founded on Bell's system, and their honest and conscientious desire to avoid offence on denominational questions produced universal confidence in their teachers. Year by year new fields of labour were opened up; liberal support was given to the Society both in England and Newfoundland. The Schools were supported by Catholics as well as by Protestants; and by 1830 there were twenty-eight schools of the Society in existence at various places throughout the island, with an enrolment of 3,123 pupils.[1]

During the Vicariate of Dr. O'Donel (1791-1806) there came into existence an institute which has been identified with education in Newfoundland for more than a hundred years. It is still "full of life and youthful vigor," and reckons among its members most of the citizens of St. John's whose ancestors came from Ireland. The Society was initiated by a non-Catholic, James McBraire, and was unsectarian in its origin. All denominations were admissible to its ranks, and the only qualification needed was that the candidate be an Irishman by birth or descent. Its object was two-fold, benevolent and educational, and in its early days it contributed immense amounts to the needy. Then it became imperative to erect an institution for the education of poor children, and in 1827 the Society built the "Orphan

[1] Dr. William Pilot, (Superintendent of Anglican Schools): "Church of England in Newfoundland" in a supplement to Prowse's *History of Newfoundland*, p. 8. There are still some schools of the Society in Newfoundland, and they receive an appropriation from the government.

Asylum," where some four hundred children received instruction.

About 1830 the Benevolent Irish Society had become a Catholic organization; but the non-denominational regulations as regards instruction were retained. When Dr. Fleming became Vicar-Apostolic of Newfoundland, he says in writing to Dr. Spratt (1834):—

> The schools of the Benevolent Irish Society continued to enjoy public confidence because they were based on non-denominational principles. And, indeed, so jealous were this body of the character they had acquired that, although for some years not a single Protestant child had been sent to the school, yet not only would the committee of that exclusively Catholic body not permit the Catholic catechism to be taught in school by the master, but they stood up in opposition to the priests who attempted to give the children religious instruction *even after school hours.*[1]

Before his elevation to the episcopate as coadjutor to Bishop Scallan, Dr. Fleming once went to the school to give religious instruction and was refused admittance by some "liberals." Shortly after his consecration he again visited the school, prepared some four hundred children for Confirmation, and planned to make a public display on the day of the ceremony. The "Council of Six"—the same "liberals" who had showed malevolence on the former occasion—protested to Bishop Scallan, "fearing that such a display might cause some displeasure to the Protestants of the town." This notwithstanding, Bishop Fleming carried out his plan, and thereafter the school was placed under his supervision. This episode initiated the struggle for denominational education.

When Bishop Fleming began to supervise the "Orphan Asylum" school, it became actually a Catholic institution. Lay teachers were in charge until 1847, when some Franciscan Brothers from Galway were entrusted with

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[1] Howley, *Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland*, p. 229. (Boston: Doyle and Whittle, 1888).

its direction. The latter, however, remained in St. John's only a few years; in 1853 they relinquished the school and returned to Ireland.[1] The school was, therefore, once again entrusted to lay teachers, and it was under the direction of a succession of such teachers until 1876, when Bishop Power introduced the Christian Brothers.[2]

Newfoundland obtained Representative Government in 1832; but not until 1843 did the local Legislature make a specific grant for the promotion of common school education. Then, under the provisions of the Barnes Act, the Assembly made an allocation for the purpose. In the same year the Legislature attempted to make provision for higher education, and an Act was introduced for the establishment of two colleges, one for Catholics and the other for Protestants. Dr. Fleming protested against it on the grounds that it did not provide for the appointment of Catholic directors for the Catholic college; did not recognize the fact that the Catholic Ordinary is *de jure* superior of every Catholic college or similar institution; and it made no provision for a Catholic principal of the Catholic college, specifying only that "he shall be a graduate of either Oxford, Cambridge, or Trinity College, Dublin." Another objectionable feature was embodied in a series of rules and by-laws which were drawn up, in pursuance of the Act, "for the Government of the Catholic Board of Education," of which Rule IX. specified: "While it shall be the object of this Board to promote the moral and religious education of the

[1] Prior to obtaining the Franciscan Brothers, Bishop Fleming had endeavoured to secure the Christian Brothers of Ireland, but the Superior-General was unable to accede to the request.

[2] "Early in 1875 members of the Benevolent Irish Society waited on Bishop Power with a view of making another attempt to secure the Christian Brothers. Brothers Hooper and McDonald were sent to St. John's to make arrangements, and in October, 1875, Brother Holland came out as Superior. The community followed in January 1876, and schools were opened immediately in the "Orphan Asylum," where the Brothers remained until the completion of St. Patrick's Hall in 1880" (*Annals of the Christian Brothers*). This transcript was recently furnished to the writer by Brother J. E. Ryan, former Superior of St. Bonaventure's College, St. John's, Newfoundland.

children of the District, they will esteem it their duty—as all schools shall be open to children of every denomination—to forbid that the slightest interference be used with the religious principles of the children."

Evidently this Act did not become effective, and in the following year (1844) another was passed, providing for the establishment of a non-denominational academy in St. John's. This—known as "Castle Rennie"—was not a success and was discontinued in 1850. "In its room three Academies were founded on the denominational principle, and a fourth was added at a later date. These four institutions, which are connected respectively with the different religious denominations, have expanded and greatly elevated the standard of education."[1] They have grown into colleges, all of which are now affiliated to the University of London.

Midst the multitudinous cares which burdened Bishop Fleming after the death of Dr. Scallan, he began to formulate plans for what has been well termed "the greatest work of his episcopate"—the foundation of a community of Presentation nuns, who devote themselves to the education of poor girls. In a letter to Rev. Dr. O'Connell, of Dublin, written some time after the foundation had become a *fait accompli* he says (after describing the situation existing in mixed schools):—

> I felt the necessity of withdrawing female children from under the tutelage of men, from the dangerous associations which ordinary school intercourse with the other sex naturally exhibited; for whatever care could be applied to the culture of female children in mixed schools, they must lose much of the delicacy of feeling and refinement of sentiment which form the ornament and grace of their sex. . . . . These feelings and opinions were the motives that led me to consider the establishment of a Presentation convent essential to the permanent success of the Mission.

Bishop Fleming crossed the ocean in the summer of 1833 and reached Galway in June, where he found four

[1] Harvey, *Newfoundland*, p. 221.

nuns at the Presentation Convent who were willing to come out to Newfoundland. Those who volunteered for the mission were Mary Magdalen O'Shaugnessy, Mary Xaverius Lynch, Xavier Moloney, and Bernard Kirwan, who was named Superior of the heroic band. The nuns left Galway on the Feast of St. Clare (August 11), journeyed by stage to Waterford, and embarked on the ship "Ariel," which arrived in St. John's on September 11. Owing to a miscarriage of the mails at Liverpool, the nuns in Galway heard nothing from their sisters for four months and believed they had been lost. Requiems were celebrated for the repose of their souls; copies of their vows were burned; and the Galway community mourned the loss of their beloved sisters[1]. Meanwhile the exiles were chanting *Te Deums* in St. John's, where they had received an enthusiastic welcome. Dr. Fleming had set apart a section of the "Old Palace" for their accommodation, and here they remained until they took possession of a house which the Bishop had secured for them. This was a former tavern, and the sign, which had been removed, bore the name "The Rising Sun," which the nuns regarded as a propitious omen, for they had come to diffuse the rays of religious education throughout the country.

Unable to accommodate more than 450 children in "The Rising Sun," the nuns were forced to transfer the school to a building which had formerly been a slaughter-house. But this building, though a great deal of money had been spent on its reconstruction, was soon found to be unsuitable, and the nuns moved once more to another location, where a new school, with accommodation for twelve hundred children, was built. The locality became known as "Nunnery Hill"—a name which it still bears. Here the nuns remained for eight years; and when the lease expired they moved again, to a building which

[1] Cfr. Hatch, *Life of Nano Nagle*, "The Presentation Nuns in Newfoundland."

had once been a ball-alley, and remained there one year. Meanwhile Bishop Fleming erected a splendid building in a central part of the town, which " was worthy of the ladies and the glorious cause in which they were embarked." But " now is the time of tribulation ! " This fine structure, built at a cost of some £4,000, was destroyed by the great fire which wiped out nearly the whole town of St. John's on June 9, 1846. The nuns found shelter with the Sisters of Mercy who had recently opened a convent on Military Road, near the Cathedral. Before the dying embers of the town had grown cold, Nano Nagle's daughters took possession of a small cottage on the outskirts of the town and remained there for five months, " sleeping upon the floor of the barn, teaching the children (who still flocked to them) on fine days in the open fields, and in rough weather in the stables and the outhouses." Bishop Fleming was in Liverpool when the fire took place, *en route* to St. John's, with two more sisters from the Galway convent. " He immediately offered to release them and restore them to their Motherhouse ; but they refused, and nobly chose to come on to their sisters in misfortune in Newfoundland.[1].

Bishop Fleming never wholly recovered from the shock of this great disaster. Early in 1847 he applied for a coadjutor, naming as his choice Father John T. Mullock, O.S.F., who was consecrated in Rome on 27 December, 1847. Bishop Mullock arrived in St. John's in May, 1848, and immediately set to work to repair the ruins caused by the great fire. On 23 August, 1850, he laid the foundations of a new Convent for the Presentation nuns. This convent still exists, and is, even to-day, one of the finest institutions in St. John's.

Even during their days of tribulation the Presentation nuns had made new foundations—at Harbor Grace (1851), at Carbonear (1852), and at Fermeuse and Harbor

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[1] Howley, *op. cit.*, pp. 290 ff.

Main (1853). Later came other offshoots, and at the present time there are seventeen convents where the spirit of zeal and the devotion of Nano Nagle are being emulated.

Bishop Fleming's educational activities on behalf of the children of St. John's were not limited to the introduction of the Presentation nuns, whose schools had become uncomfortably crowded. He decided to introduce a community "for the instruction of the children of the more wealthy classes who were both able and anxious to pay for their education." For this purpose he secured Sisters of Mercy, at Baggot Street, in Dublin, two of whom came to St. John's in June 1842.[1] Immediately after their arrival the Sisters began daily visitation of the sick and were occupied in teaching catechism to waifs and strays, pending the completion of their convent and school, which was opened on May 1, 1843.[2]

The Sisters of Mercy have done noble work in the field of education throughout Newfoundland, and have been a most important factor in its social and religious life. In St. John's they conduct St. Bride's College and a Training School for Catholic female teachers, three grade schools and two academies, in addition to a large orphanage at Belvidere and a thoroughly equipped hospital (St. Clare's); and in the outports they have several High Schools, with a splendid academy at St. George's.

At the time of Bishop Mullock's appointment as coadjutor the Vicariate of Newfoundland became an episcopate, and Bishop Fleming was translated from the titular see of Carpasia to the see of Newfoundland. Two years later he died, at Belvidere, and the mantle of active administration fell upon the shoulders of the great son of the "City of the Violated Treaty" (Bishop Mullock

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[1] This was the first foundation of the Sisters of Mercy in the Western World, antedating by one year the earliest foundation in the United States, which was made at Pittsburg in 1843.

[2] Sister Ursula Freney, who was co-founder of the mission in Newfoundland, went later to Australia and founded a branch of the Order in the Antipodes.

was born at Limerick, in 1807). He immediately set to work and carried to completion all the great undertakings of his predecessor, which he found to be in an unfinished state. Bishop Mullock's greatest achievement, however, was in the field of education; and to him is due, unquestionably, the system of denominational education which is to-day the great glory of the Catholic Church in Newfoundland. He was not only a man of enlightened views, but he had the courage to put them into execution. A terror to the sectarian politician, he was the protagonist in every movement for the amelioration of the condition of the people of Newfoundland. Many pages might be written of his numerous civic activities; for "Newfoundland owes a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. Mullock."[1]

The establishment of St. Bonaventure's College, which supplanted the secular academy already mentioned, is an outstanding evidence of Bishop Mullock's vision and indomitable energy. It began with the opening of a few classes in the "Old Palace" in December 1856; but it was soon discovered that the quarters were inadequate to accommodate all who applied for admission; and the classes were transferred to the "Monastery" at Belvidere, where they remained until October 4, 1858, when St. Bonaventure's was formally opened, with the Rev. Dr. Henry Carfagnini, O.S.F. (later Bishop of Harbor Grace) as its first President. At the beginning of its career St. Bonaventure's also served as a preparatory seminary, where several natives of Newfoundland were prepared for theological studies in Rome and in Ireland. It remained under the direction of diocesan priests, aided by competent lay professors (most of whom were graduates of Irish colleges), until 1889, when it was entrusted by the learned Bishop Power to the direction of the Christian Brothers, who for more than a decade had taught in St. Patrick's and Holy Cross schools. Since

[1] Prowse, *op. cit.*, p. 487.

then the college has made giant forward strides, and its present enrolment exceeds five hundred. It has had a most enviable record, and it numbers among its alumni two archbishops, three bishops, more than a hundred priests, dozens of lawyers, doctors, journalists, hundreds of teachers; and nearly every Catholic Newfoundlander who has gained eminence in commercial and industrial fields claims St. Bonaventure's as his *alma mater*. In the person of Lord Morris, it has even given a distinguished Catholic jurist to the House of Lords.

The most noteworthy chapter in the history of Catholic education in Newfoundland begins with the coming of the Christian Brothers in 1876, and these great educators have left an impress on its Catholic life that will long endure. The names of Brothers Holland, Fleming, Slattery, Hurley, Lavelle, Downey, Crehan, Culhane, Kennedy, Ryan, Conway, Fennessy, Strapp, O'Heir, Prendergast and Ahern, and many others are writ large on the educational annals of Newfoundland, and their influence has been felt from Avalon to Ingornachoix.

Before we discuss the denominational system in detail and state how it functions in Newfoundland, we present its basic principles as enunciated by Bishop Mullock:—

> As education consists not in learning to read and write, or in the acquisition of languages, but comprises the whole training—moral, social, and religious—of the child and moulds his character for life, it must be evident that the only way to prevent bickering and disunion in the community, and to give justice to all, is the mode adopted by the Government of Newfoundland of dividing the education grant, *pro rata*, between all denominations. Hence one great source of disunion, so distracting in other countries, does not exist here. All denominations being equally favoured, there is no jealousy, no cause of complaint. In all other countries of mixed population where the experiment had been tried of either forcing on the minority the religious education of the majority, or of excluding any definite religious teaching, and endeavouring to substitute for it a system of ethics, under the

name of "Common Christianity," it has resulted in absolute failure. Religious dissensions, instead of being eliminated, have become chronic and embittered; and infidelity and indifferentism, the great curses of modern society, have not only undermined all governments, monarchical or democratic, but have corrupted and endangered the fundamental principles of society itself by nullifying parental authority, the indissolubility of marriage, the rights of property, the dignity of man, and the honour of woman . . . So far the moral training of the people has not been a failure, and the basis of a solid Christian education has been laid. . . . It is for the advantage of Catholics that Protestants should be well educated, as it is for the Protestants that the Catholics should be equally so. The interests of the two great sections of the community are identical, and the intelligence and morality of each a guarantee of peace and unity to the other. Indeed, mixed up as they are, it is impossible that any improvement in the education or circumstances of one party should not excite an honourable rivalry in the other equally advantageous to both.[1]

As here noted, the schools in Newfoundland (Convent schools included) receive a subvention from the Government, and the Legislature makes an annual appropriation, which is divided among the different denominations on a capitation basis. The allocation of the grant is now vested in a Bureau of Education which "comprises the Prime Minister, the Secretary of Education, the Superintendents of Education, and six other persons proportionally representative of the several religious denominations to be appointed by the Governor-in-Council and to serve on the Bureau for three years at a time."[2] The actual disbursement rests, however, with the denominational Superintendents and the Boards of Education for the various Districts into which the country is divided. The officiating clergyman is usually the chairman of the District Board (the parish priest always chairman in a Catholic District); and the Boards are invariably chosen from the most representative laymen

[1] Rt. Rev. T. J. Mullock, *Lectures on Education* (1859). A copy of this valuable brochure—now very rare—exists in the Congressional Library, Washington, D.C.
[2] Education Act, 1927, Sec. I., Part I.

in each District. They have extensive powers, and their services are given gratuitously.

There are four denominational colleges, of which two are Catholic (St. Bonaventure's, for men, and St. Bride's, for women). These are under the direction of the heads of the respective churches, and receive a special grant for the training of teachers; all of them have a well-staffed school of pedagogics.[1] In addition to these denominational colleges, there is an institution known as "Memorial University College," established by the Legislature in 1922 "as a perpetual memorial of those who served and more particularly of those who died in the cause of freedom during the Great War." It receives a large annual appropriation from the Government, and in addition has an annual grant made by the Carnegie Foundation. The institution is "inter-denominational."

In 1893 the Newfoundland Government established a Council of Higher Education "to promote sound learning and to advance the interests of Higher Education, by holding examinations, and by awarding scholarships, diplomas and prizes to successful competitors, and to encourage teachers in the preparation of candidates by awarding them premiums." The Council is nominated by the Legislature, and the denominational proportion is invariably maintained.[2]

P. W. Browne.

Catholic University of America
Washington

[1] Three Sisters of Mercy on the staff of St. Bride's have advanced degrees from American Universities, two of them being graduates of Sisters College at the Catholic University of America, while the third holds a Ph.D. from Fordham University.

[2] The prime movers for the establishment of this Council were Brother Slattery, President of St. Bonaventure's, and Dr. Blackall, Headmaster of the Anglican College (Bishop Field).

WINTER FODDER AND A NEW DISCOVERY

BY HENRY KENNEDY, M.A., D.SC.

LACK of continuity of production is the outstanding feature of our agricultural economy. Our dairying is seasonal, rising rapidly from the very low winter level to a high peak in June, from which it again sinks rapidly to the winter level about the middle of November; 80 per cent. of the output is produced in the six months from May to October. The creamery, over the year, works to little more than half its capacity; the cow milks on the average probably not for more than two-thirds of the possible period and, owing to poor condition at calving time, never milks to her full capacity; during the winter the forces of labour on the farm are unproductive, and the very necessary monthly creamery cheque shrinks to insignificant proportions. As far as cattle production is concerned, we have more or less the same story. Our cattle during the winter lose a substantial part of the live weight increase of the previous summer. To anybody who observes the emaciated condition of our cattle—both cows and store stock—in the spring, it must be apparent that we are very far from having solved the first essential of modern, as distinguished from primitive, agriculture—the conservation of adequate supplies of nutritious winter food for live-stock.

Agriculture is dominated by conditions of soil and climate. Our fertile soil and high rainfall, uniformly distributed over the year, make this country one of the few places on the earth's surface where a luxuriant growth of grass is assured. For this reason less attention has been given to cultivated crops than, for example, in the countries of Northern Europe, where animal products also are the basis of farming. It is probably true that grass-land

in this country, properly fertilised and managed, produces a higher output of food nutrients per acre for live-stock than the cultivated crops of Scandinavian countries.

The obvious advantage which we have in summer pasture is, however, neutralised by the absence of proper winter feed. The area under root-crops is only about 300,000 acres, so that this source of winter food is of minor importance, taking the country as a whole; our pasture area is about 8,500,000 acres, and our hay area 2,250,000 acres. Winter food for cattle is therefore mainly hay and "winterage" in the form of overgrown pasture. It is not necessary to emphasise the wastefulness of old pasture, especially in a wet winter, when much of the grass is trodden under foot and much of the summer growth becomes merely rotting vegetation.

Properly made hay, from grass which has not been allowed to become overgrown, is of course an excellent food—but it presupposes two conditions: clear skies and low atmospheric humidity. It is only once in a decade that these conditions occur in this country, and it is doubtful if they ever occur for long enough to cover the essential period of the hay harvest. With our average rainfall of about 40 inches, the business of haymaking is a huge gamble, with the odds heavily against the occurrence of suitable weather in the few critical weeks of late June and early July. The poor condition of our cattle in spring is a chronic result of this gamble.

The rainfall in East Prussia is about 20 inches, and yet a well-known authority, Professor Völtz, gives it as his opinion that on the average the losses in nutrients in haymaking are not much less than 50 per cent. It is a matter for speculation how much greater the losses are in this country, with its much greater rainfall and its much higher relative humidity.

As a practical alternative much work has been done in recent years on investigations into the preservation of grass in the form of silage. In 1923 the German Food

Ministry provided finance for special investigations into the scientific, technical and practical aspects of silage conservation. A special society was formed, which issues reports and papers on the scientific and practical results of the investigations. Very valuable results have been attained. Scientific workers in the University of Königsberg have developed a technique for low temperature fermentation, specially suitable to young grass with high moisture content such as ours, which claims to preserve grass with only 10 to 15 per cent. loss of food nutrients. It is of interest that as this process necessitates the addition of a small percentage of molasses or raw sugar, the Prussian Government allows raw sugar mixed with 10 per cent. of salt free of duty for this purpose.

One experiment is of special interest. From the same field of young clover part was made into silage by the new method and part into hay. The percentage losses in dry matter were ascertained in respect of the hay and the silage. Digestion experiments were then made by feeding to wethers according to a well-known technique. In this way the total digestible food nutrients per acre were calculated. It was found that an acre of the clover preserved in the form of silage gave almost exactly twice as much digestible food nutrients as the same area when the clover was preserved in the form of hay.

The object of the addition of sugar is to facilitate the development of a low-temperature lactic acid fermentation. The temperature does not rise above 30°C., and the objectionable butyric acid fermentation does not take place. As a result of investigations into the relative merits of silage and hay, a very active propaganda is being carried out in Germany in favour of silage conservation, and special State Credits have been made available for the building of silos.

The German investigations seemed to have standardised practice in the preservation of young protein-rich clover or grass with comparatively little loss in protein

or total starch value of the forage. But what might be termed sensational results have since been achieved in Finland. In 1925 Dr. Virtanen, Director of the Research Laboratory of Valio, the great Finnish Co-operative Dairy Organisation, began an investigation into the preservation of grass in the form of silage. He devised a technique, which claims to result in a conservation without fermentation and with no loss whatever, except in a very thin layer on top. The method consists in adding certain chemicals in liquid form to the grass as it is put into the silo. The grass need not be chaffed, and the silos are of the simplest form. In Finland they consist merely of circular pits about 16 feet in diameter and 6 feet deep sunk in the ground and lined with wood.

Subsequent to the laboratory investigations, in 1928, feeding experiments with cows were made on two farms, and in view of the favourable results obtained 3,000 farmers made the new silage in 1929, 5,000 in 1930, and now Valio has a staff of instructors doing propaganda on the new system and advising on its technique. The process is patented by Valio. Exhaustive experiments have been made on the fodder. It has been found to have no ill effect on the health of the cows. A few examples of the results of feeding tests are here given :—

(*a*) An Ayrshire cow, calving on February 18th and fed with about 6½ lbs. hay and 90 lbs. silage per day, with no concentrated food, for 47 days beginning on February 20th, gave an average yield of 37 lbs. of milk per day.

(*b*) An Ayrshire cow fed for 43 days before calving with 70 lbs. silage, 3½ lbs. straw and 6½ lbs. hay, gave after calving an average of 35 lbs. milk per day for 51 days on an average ration of 6½ lbs. of hay and 84 lbs. of silage with no concentrates. The yield continually increased from 32 lbs. at the beginning to 44 lbs. per day at the end of the period.

(*c*) A cow fed the year round with about 5½ lbs. of hay and 90 lbs. of silage per day, and about three months'

pasture during summer, and no concentrated food whatever, gave during her lactation a yield of 900 gallons of milk.

Costings made on one farm showed that, by the use of the new fodder, the cost of butter-fat production was reduced by 30 per cent. Under our conditions the effect on cost of production would be much more startling, on acconnt of the great superiority of Finnish hay over what can normally be produced under our climatic conditions.

The silage has an agreeable odour, and cattle eat it readily. It is stated that cattle will take it in preference to turnips, if offered a choice. A very important point is that butter made from the milk of cows fed with the silage does not differ in colour, texture, and vitamin A content from grass-produced butter.

It would seem, therefore, that the problem of standardising silage quality, independent of weather conditions, has been solved. Summer pasture conditions can be continued through the winter. To no country in the world can the new technique bring such benefits as to this. Even if there were no increase of winter milk production, it would be of untold advantage to have our cows come into production in fit condition, so as to be able to take full advantage of the summer pasture. It is an axiom in dairy cattle management that if the cow is to produce to capacity, she must be in good condition before calving. But with a cheaply produced food, the full capacity of the cow will be utilised, so that our dairy production will naturally run the whole year round.

The labour requirements have been calculated as no greater than what is necessary for haymaking under Finnish conditions. In Finland, however, very dry weather is usual for the hay harvest, so that if the comparison were made in our climate, it is likely that from the point of view of labour requirements the advantage would be all in favour of silage. In addition, there is the very obvious

advantage of spreading out the labour requirements over a longer period. The hay harvest has to be crowded into a few weeks, while with silage the procedure would normally be to take two or three cuts in the season, beginning with late May or early June and going on to late September or early October.

In the present world crisis in agriculture, the fundamental causes of which are as obscure to the professional economists as to the man in the street, the only hope for the farmer is to cut his costs of production. Our grass-land is far from the limit of its productivity. Silage conservation makes it possible to develop a more rational system of grazing by storing the surplus in times of exceptional growth and providing a reserve in times of scarcity. In respect of the requirements of our flocks and herds during the winter, it provides a highly nutritious and productive food—productive of milk and productive of live weight increase.

We have 2,250,000 acres of hay. On the basis of German views on haymaking losses, our annual waste reaches a stupendous figure. There seems, according to the recent discoveries, to be no reason whatever for the continuance of this leakage of our agricultural resources.

We cannot affect the world price level, but we can lower the cost level by proper fertilisation and management of our pastures and by sane methods of conservation of grass for winter use. We can take the guesswork and the gamble out of our provision of winter fodder, and by using the new technique we can provide nutritious food for winter production, which should result in a real revolution in our farming methods.

HENRY KENNEDY

THE MYSTERY OF SUFFERING

BY CORNELIUS LUCEY, M.A., D.D.

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WHEN Voltaire wished to justify his derision of a Divine Providence controlling the universe, he appealed to the wholesale carnage wrought by the then recent Lisbon earthquake. And fresh on the heels of each similar catastrophe the doubters advance with "the old misgivings, crooked questions." In reality, catastrophes such as these are not one whit more terrible or more agonising, nor therefore more philosophically enigmatic, than what happens every day around us and in us. When we consider that each day more than 100,000 people perish in the ordinary way of things, a little few of old age, many of mishap, most of disease, we soon see that there is nothing except the unusualness of Nature slaying in batches to focus special attention on great catastrophes. One by one, victim after victim, all those that start life together follow each other to the grave, some in youth and some in age, some cut off suddenly and others some only after a long-drawn struggle. But all are tried in the crucible of pain, and all pass through the gateway of death. Would it have made any difference had all been stricken together in a great natural convulsion? Can there be any special grievance against Divine Beneficence if men suffer sometimes in groups rather than singly? Surely not, especially when we bear in mind that, stricken together and in the midst of life, they are spared the visible approach of death, the sorrows of partings and the tears of survivors.

The real trouble is that we suffer at all. The problem of pestilence, earthquake and volcanic eruption is merged in the more universal and enduring enigma presented by

so unhappy and imperfect a world issuing from so good a God. When we look around us we soon realise that the universe does not pull well together. The forces of nature thwart and confuse each other; there is unceasing internecine strife between the different forms of existence; and the result is a constant casualty list of stunted, wounded and slain. Nor are sentient beings any exception to this general rule. And in their case this cosmic friction has a further awful consequence. As often as its ill effects on himself are "sensed" or perceived by the individual, it inflicts pain. Born very often in another's pain, each living animal finally perishes in its own, after having in the meantime become conversant with varying and acute forms of suffering in the course of its struggle to live.

It is, however, in human life that suffering in its acuter forms most abounds. Because his full perfection implies so much more than theirs, man can be the victim of a host of even bodily imperfections to which the lower animals are strangers. Then, there is a vast realm for suffering in the domain of mind. There are the ills, neural and sympathetic, which he is liable to, "alike as a distinct individual and a social unit, alike as a natural being fleshly and mortal, and as a political being sharing in the history and collective fortunes of a race." Sickness, accident, penury, defeated hopes, thwarted aims, remorse, misgivings and bereavements—all these and many more are part and parcel of the facts of human experience, denoting a range and an intensity of suffering that almost defy measurement or even conception.

More bitter still than its extent or depths is the apparently chaotic nature of the incidence of this suffering. Were the strong alone asked to suffer, we might gloss it over by recalling the gladness of childhood and the serenity of old age; but the child can have its own pains and old age its own stony griefs. If the guilty alone were stricken we should not worry; but, as Mill has pointedly written, "Nature empties her shafts upon the best and noblest

indifferently with the meanest and worst—she mows down those on whose existence hangs the well-being of a whole people . . . with as little compunction as those whose death is a relief to themselves and a blessing to those under their noxious influence." Such are the facts of life. How in the face of them can we assert eternal Providence and justify at the bar of our moral sense the ways of our almighty Creator to His creatures? How can we believe in a just and righteous God, much less in a tender and loving God, when we find so much suffering and failure in the very structure of the existence He dispenses to His creatures, and dispenses without any apparent equation between desert and guilt? There is the real mystery of pain.

It will be noticed that the problem presupposes the existence of God. For Materialists, Naturalists and Atheists there is no problem. Since they do not believe in any ultimate explanation of things, they just take evil as a fact, like any other fact, and discuss only how it is to be avoided or lessened in life. It is only for the Idealist and the Theist, who have already satisfied themselves on other evidence of the existence of an all-good Absolute, that the fact of suffering becomes a challenge. The ancients viewed the challenge from the ontological side—that is, how was it possible for what was evil to "flow out" from what was good. The discovery that all evils are formally *privations* solved this. Nowadays, the ethical aspect is what worries, and the question is how can God's creative action be morally justified.

The challenge has been met in different ways. We have the solution of the so-called Optimists, which professes to unravel the knot by denying the real existence of the evils, on the ground that they all prove in the long view to be blessings in disguise. Others prefer to look for an escape from the other side, and so thin down their concept of God, either by denying to Him the *moral* attribute of righteousness or the *natural* attribute of omnipotence. We need not pause to consider the different

shades this limitation of the Infinite is made to assume in different theories; for any answer along these lines, as along the first, is clearly defective. It secures logical consistency simply by a denial of the facts—*i.e.*, either the fact that imperfections actually happen or the fact that God is at once Almighty and All-Good. The true solution must admit and safeguard all three facts. It must admit that there are real natural shortcomings in life. It must leave unadulterated our conclusion as to the absolute plenitude of God's power so decisively vouched for by other data. And yet it must "commend itself to our moral judgment or sense of right on the same terms as it would have to commend itself in order to be accepted if we were treating of a human and not a Divine Agent."

In the following paragraphs we hope to suggest such an answer. For convenience sake, we may distinguish two stages in this answer. First of all, a few words in explanation of the general moral principle on which the solution depends will be undertaken. Secondly, and at greater length, the proportion of good to evil in the world and the connection between them must be examined in the light of empirical evidence, in order to demonstrate the applicability of the principle in the case.

Some modern ethicians, believing in what they call "the maximisation of values," affirm that that act only is morally good which is the best the agent is capable of at the moment. To refute these is beyond the scope of our present article. It must suffice to say that whether value is equated by these gentlemen with order or with existence or with pleasure, it is surely clear that it is promoted by any act as a consequence of which there is more of this order or existence or pleasure in being than there was before the act was done. And if evil (or "deterioration of values") follow as a bye-product of an act, the act is still justified provided there is a surplusage, a greater proportion of good, achieved on the whole. The more "value" realised the better; but if any positive amount

of value whatever is promoted, the act that promotes it is ethically justified. If I give a half-crown in charity though I could have given ten shillings, my almsgiving is still a good act. What is more, complete abstention from acting must be judged to be quite legitimate for a free agent, unless some disorder or " deterioration of necessary value " follows as a consequence of his inactivity. I might have paid no heed to that mendicant at all, and yet not be guilty of any fault. So much for our ethical principles.

From these we can see that since God is free and self-sufficing, He is not bound to create the best possible world (or indeed any world at all.) He is justified at the bar of our moral sense, if His universe is a good one. And it is a good one, (*a*) if there is a balance of good over evil in it and (*b*) if the evil that is in it cannot well be eliminated.

But there is little use in talking of a " good " or a " best " world, unless we specify the kind of goodness or worth which we attribute to it. Many incline to the view that the " best " in this sense is equivalent to " most conducive to pleasure." Others substitute for pleasure moral worth or instrumentality thereto. The Scholastic conception is on a higher plane than these views. The norm of value is ontological perfection, and " best " is used in terms of the fullness of being or reality which it is possible for a creature to have. God created, because His expansive love urged Him to communicate His own perfection. Now the more forms of existence the created universe contains, the greater the amount of perfection that is thus communicated and the more perfectly does the result reflect the infinite capacities of the Creator. In His wisdom God determined what amount of perfection He would distribute. Our present world is the result. Why He determined on this amount, and not more or less, it seems useless to ask, and certainly is impossible for us to answer. But the fact remains.

This universe, then, is not made specifically for man's benefit, nor even that the beings in it should be comfort-

able; it is made to incorporate a certain degree of perfection. This it does by consisting of many different forms or species, each striving for its own due development, with things so adjusted, however, that though species interfere with species in this effort, yet all manage to get on and continue in existence. The human species strives for moral worth and physical well-being, all other species for physical well-being only. Happiness and pleasure enter into the good of the universe only in this way, that since they consist simply in the feeling or consciousness of well-being, their *presence is proof* that things are proceeding favourably for the individual. In this way the Divine purpose and the happiness of the creature coincide. On the other hand, the existence of suffering is a sign of failure on the individual's part—and therefore, that some evil is mixed with good in the prosecution of God's plan.

With this truer grasp of the import of the terms we must now address ourselves to the question, does the good in the world out-balance the evil? Men have varying opinions as to the relative extent of evil in life. So much has to be allowed for the colouring introduced by temperament and personal experience. But there is pretty general agreement that any objective and disinterested estimate of the world's joys and woes shows a balance enormously on the side of good. True, a Schopenhauer, a Mill, or any of your cranks and misanthropists, may come along and, observing life with jaundiced eye, see everywhere agonies, mental and physical, which no amount of well-being can make up for or annul. Ordinary people, however, have the saner view that for the mass of sentient creation, though suffering be inevitable at the close of life, and an occasional or even regular caller during its course, the ups of life more than compensate for the downs and make it on the whole very well worth living.

Nor is this view merely capricious. Certain valid considerations can be urged in support of it. The first challenging fact to all Pessimism is the universality and

persistency of " the will to live." The lower animals never commit suicide or never yield up life without a struggle. And what is this will-to-live but the deep-rooted feeling of every sentient being that life is so big a boon that, even when it carries with it the drawback of much suffering, it has still sufficient left in it to make it eminently desirable. The Pessimists say this is but an instinct implanted in them by the malevolence of Nature, but the parallel from human suffering rules out this explanation. Man can appraise values, yet man, too, endorses life. We are all loath to part with it. It is seldom the individual himself, but some too sympathetic onlooker, who thinks his life is not worth living. How many a sufferer have we not all visited who, stretched on a bed of sickness still clung tenaciously to life, though aware that its every moment prolonged would be also a moment of prolonged agony ? And who has not often wondered at the cheerfulness and quiet of many a confirmed invalid ? Apparently we can all, even the poorest and most repressed, develop enough interests and fulfil enough purposes to realise a full and comfortable life.

Again, the physiological and psychological constitution of sense life is such as to set limits both of time and of degree to the endurance of suffering. When pain reaches a certain intensity, Nature comes to the rescue. Self-consciousness is suspended, the patient faints off, and the pain ceases to be felt. So, too, when mental suffering becomes too poignant, reason is unseated, and the sting in this way is extracted.

Finally, there is the very vital truth that the animals, the lower races, or the children of the more sensitive races do not suffer at all as the hyper-aesthetic observer imagines they do. It is all too easy to exaggerate their sufferings by reading into their less highly organised lives our own sensitiveness and wants. The first and last impression of wild life on land and air is carefree *joie de vivre*. It could not well be otherwise. Man suffers in retrospect and in

anticipation. For the animal the whole realm of mental anguish is a closed book. There is no apprehension of future wants, no brooding over past accidents, no foreknowledge of death. Each moment, therefore, that is free from actual failure is lived fully and with pleasure unalloyed. And when sickness or old age comes upon them they are not left to linger on. The claws or teeth of a hungry enemy see to that. "And there is no bungling among the murderers of the wilds. They do their slaughter with unerring skill. The tiger breaks the neck of its victim with one stroke of its paw. The bird of prey strikes once and once only, and its victim is dead." Besides, ill-treatment is not always a sure index to pain. Hunters who have been mauled by lions say that the sensation of pain is strangely absent in the experience—the mouse played with by the cat has probably the same paralysis of feeling. So, too, when Darwin doubted the beneficence of God because he found parasites feeding on the living bodies of many insects, he forgot that there is little injury and less pain in most parasitism. Man himself supports many bacilli within his living body, and is totally unconscious of their activities. Hence the proportion of suffering in the animal world, though enigmatic because they have no future life and no free-will, is nevertheless rather negligible in comparison with the pleasures.

Equally erroneous is the view too often taken in hyper-sensitive civilisation of the magnitude of suffering among the lower classes and among children. The idea that the abject poverty of the slums or the almost animal conditions of life among primitive peoples necessarily makes for constant misery is absolutely unfounded. Happiness is relative to a man's wants, and these in turn are dependent, partly on character and temperament, and partly on social conditions and environment. Anyone can be happy, provided he has a sane outlook on life and adapts himself to his circumstances. If the poor sometimes

suffer pangs of hunger, the rich suffer pangs of boredom and nervous exhaustion; and if the savage lacks the conveniences of civilisation, he also escapes its drawbacks. Refinement of taste may bring possibilities of high and noble pleasures beyond the reach of the uncultivated, but it also destroys all enjoyment of less perfect objects and makes more intolerable real ugliness and disorder. The truth is that "there is not a pin to choose as between class and class, or nation and nation in the real subjective enjoyment of life."

As for children, the ills of childhood are often much magnified. If their woes are big things so also are their joys, and certainly the smile is more often on the infant face than the tear. They live in the present, and therefore the burden of evil cannot press heavily upon them. When they suffer, they are only under the same inexorable law of all sentient life. Suffering is the badge of all our tribe; but it is no less true that for no part of the tribe does it loom so large as to prevent the world being a happy place and existence a fount of many joys.

But God is not thereby proven beneficent or righteous because His world has more of good in it than of failures. It is further required that the good in it must be unattainable otherwise than at the cost of this precise amount of evil. One jot or tittle of unnecessary pain would taint the moral character of Divine creation. As Green has written, "a Being who could attain his ends by means which would be free altogether from pain and suffering could not be accounted absolutely good, if he attained the salvation and perfection of an entire universe at the cost of ten minutes' slight pain to a single sentient creature." Our next task, then, is to see whether failure and suffering could have been kept out of the universe. The answer is that, though absolutely speaking God could have created a pain-free world, yet He could not have a world with the *exact degree and kind of goodness that the*

present world has on any other terms than on the permission of so much individual failure and pain. He simply cannot realise His cosmic purpose in a world dynamised by laws of finality and progress, without at the same time having the possibility of many incidental hardships happening in its process.

Our first impulse is to question this and ask is not every thing possible to an Omnipotent God. But a little reflection must convince us that even omnipotence itself cannot override the laws of Identity and Contradiction and similar intrinsic necessities of thought and action. God cannot alter the essential elements of any being and yet have that being of the same nature as it would be without the alteration. For example, as St. Thomas puts it, He cannot make a being that would be at once a man and a mere animal, that is, endowed with and, at the same time, deprived of reason. Nor, similarly, can He make man a free agent and at the same time compel his every assent. Hence, since all natural laws are simply the expression of the nature of the material universe, we are justified in regarding them as *provisionally* necessary and unchangeable, the universe being what it is. A different universe to ours—God was quite free to create such, but He didn't do so—would have different natural laws, but ours cannot be itself without entailing the present system of cosmic interrelations. As Dr. Martineau has put it, the cosmical equation being defined, only such results as are compatible with the values of its roots can be worked out, and these must be worked out. In other words, pain and suffering are admissible in God's world, because they cannot well be excluded without excluding at the same time the good in proportion to which they are of lesser moment.

How are we to prove this contention ? First of all by realising that ultimately all imperfections—and therefore all suffering, since suffering is but the conscious feeling of self-imperfection—follow not directly but only incidentally

from the activity of natural agencies, each striving at its own entelechy or perfection. Our present world is governed in its course by this principle that "its constituent elements or species pursue each its own way, the non-living blindly and the living in the purposive working out of its own development, without heeding whether the resultant effect on others be beneficent or injurious." Thus the species "wolf," being marked by the predicate "lamb-eating," is simply acting true to its own nature when it snaps up the lamb; the phthisis bacilli are only developing theirs when they fasten on the doomed lung. Yet it was God who made them all such. He did it because His cosmic purpose required the existence of a variety of such disparate natures, each active and good for itself, all tending to the continued existence of the world as a whole. The particular failures are not, however, to be regarded as willed by God for their own sakes, or even as means among other equally possible but painless means to a particular end. They are willed only consequently—that is to say, they are not desired in themselves or as such, but are willed because the existence of the agents that cause them is willed antecedently, and cannot be had without them. This is equivalent to saying that we cannot have the advantages of the present order without its logically and causally necessary disadvantages as well.

This double-edged character of each natural gift can be easily shown. Take the case of human beings. Man holds a very special place in the hierarchy of creatures, because he is not a mere automaton, but is endowed with free-will. He has to work out his own development by the right use of it, to perfect himself by the acquisition of virtues built up through effort against difficulties. True, the human will of Christ and the will of His Blessed Mother were given a special privilege of sinlessness; but for the ordinary individual possession of free-will implies actual liability to misuse it. And much of the ills of life do arise from its actual misuse. Trap and gun and whip all torture

the lower animals, and all are man-made. God did not build the slums; God did not precipitate the Great War; God did not institute rack or dungeon or stake. It is men who did all these. Their divine gift of free-will, poising men between good and evil, may be availed of for ascending to the summits of virtue or for heading downwards in a trail of personal and general suffering. God might have prevented these catastrophes by making man a mere conscious machine, but then He would not have souls educated to *moral* perfection through struggle and good-will. *De facto*, none such occurred for a time; no harm in mind or body or in any thing external befell man until Adam sinned, tainted us all with Original Sin and lost for us all preternatural immunities from pain. Suffering entered into human life only in the entourage of sin. Justice compels God to punish the free wrong-doing of the creature. And so it is that the gift of freedom can lead to evil for others and evil for its possessor.

Shall we receive good at the hand of God and not receive ill? The conjunction seems inevitable. The beneficient gift can destroy. For example, if water is to have the various properties in virtue of which it plays its useful part in the economy of life, it cannot at the same time lack its noxious power to drown us; for its specific gravity is as much the necessary outcome of its constitution as its thirst-quenching or cleansing qualities. Or consider another example. As this planet spun through space, its temperature had to come down and its cooling surface to contract into mountain and valley, sea and land, in order to become fitted for life. Natural convulsions, earthquakes, eruptions, etc., are some of the mere incidents in this vast evolution. So, too, if we wish to have the joy of natural relationship and natural affections in the world, we must also take with it partnership in others' woes; if good children are to be a source of happiness to their parents, bad children must be a sorrow to them.

Pain itself comes under the same category. For the psychologist, suffering is but the passion, or sensible state, produced automatically in the *conscious* being by the presence of imperfection of some sort. In man this *passio* may occur either in the sensitive or in the intellectual part; in animals it is confined to the sensitive soul. Mental suffering or grief, and bodily suffering or pain, therefore, are but each the consciousness of a particular kind of privation, the awareness by the agent that he lacks something he ought to have, or that something is out of joint with him. Similarly, pleasure is also self-consciousness, but self-consciousness of well-being. Hence, if we are to be sentient at all and to know our own condition, it seems inevitable that we must have the risk of being pained at times. Joy and sorrow are but two aspects of one and the same endowment of sentiency.

But we have still to meet a query as to why God does not interfere and prevent the incidence of sufferings on the innocent and on the helpless at least. That He can, and has done so miraculously in the course of history, there is no doubt. He does not do so regularly, because a determinate order of things is due in some way to His self-consistency, and secondly because, as Hume affirms, "if the conducting of the universe by general laws were superseded by particular volitions, no man could employ his reason in the conduct of his life." Besides, it would strike us as rather incongruous that the Fashioner of Nature should set up a system that ran, and yet interfere moment after moment with its vital workings.

Another factor to be borne in mind is that the individual is never sacrificed on the altar of the general good. The amount of suffering that falls to the lot of one may far exceed that which is the portion of another; but God in His Providence has so disposed things that for no one do the ills of his own personal existence outweigh its good, unless by misuse of his own free-will he brings the evils on himself. Even the tinker's ass has its restful moments,

and finds it better to be than not to be. Again, we ought to bear in mind that pain is, *per se*, never meaningless. Biologists insist that it makes for the protection of the afflicted organ and the preservation of life. It is a monitor to warn us that all is not well, a guide to where the malady is working and to the lines along which remedy lies. As doctors say, only the silence of pain is dangerous. Philosophy and religion stress its moral value. It is, in the words of Montaigne, " a furnace for annealing the soul." Courage, temperance, patience—to mention but a few of the virtues that form and temper the noble character—are developed by conflict with it.

We have now justified God at the bar of moral sense. His universe makes for goodness, and the imperfection in it cannot well be eliminated without foregoing some greater perfection. The infinite Holiness of God stands untainted by the appearance of our world. " God Almighty," says St. Augustine, " would not permit evil in His works were He not so omnipotent and good that even out of evil He can work good." And Jesus Himself points out to each one of us how we on our side are to work that good out of evil in our own lives : " I am the Way, and the Life, and the Truth ; " " If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, take up his cross daily, and follow me." The cross we shrink from weighs heavily upon us, but the cross we carry willingly as our share of the world's suffering leads to a kingdom. And in that kingdom " the sufferings of this life are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us " (Rom. viii. 17).

Cornelius Lucey

KING SPIDER IN FICTION AND IN FACT

BY W. J. WILLIAMS, M.A.

The Saints, the Devil and the King. By M. L. Mabie. (Cape. 1930. 7s. 6d. net.).

King Spider. Louis XI of France, 1423-1483. By D. B. Wyndham Lewis. (Heinemann. 1930. 21s. net.).

Louis XI. By Pierre Champion. (Cassell. 1929. 15*s.* net.).

THE three books named above bring to the reader's mind very forcibly the difference of spirit in which history is treated by writers of historical novels and by the historian proper. Sir Francis Palgrave used to say that "historical novels were ever the mortal foes of history," and Mr. Chesterton was neither exaggerating nor enunciating one of his characteristic *boutades* when recently he referred to the writer of the Casket Letters as "that fine romantic novelist." For, in truth, there is no slight similarity between the methods of the writers of historical fiction and those followed by the author of the famous letters which form the *pièces justificatives* in the indictment against Mary of Scotland.

Of course, no one but a pedant would exact from the novelist who seeks in history his incidents and his personages the absolute accuracy that is rightly demanded from the historian. The romanticist is entitled to claim a wide degree of freedom in the re-arranging and re-grouping of incidents to suit his artistic plan and to effect a suitable dramatic *mise-en-scène,* but only provided that in so doing he does not violate the essential truth of history. If he does so, one is entitled to ask why he gives his fictitious personages the names of historical persons; why he does not rely on his imagination for his characters; why, in a word, he should claim freedom to deal with the historical record in the spirit of the forger.

Romanticists have ever been prone, in their treatment of great historical figures, to overstep the limits allowed them by fair consideration for the truth of history. They deal with those figures as if they had no right to their own personalities, as if, because an action in law does not lie against a libel on the dead, the dead may be libelled with impunity. Such dealings with the historical record are none the less violations of the rule which forbids the bearing of false witness against one's neighbour. The half lights, the impressionist style of portraiture, favoured by writers of historical romances, lend themselves easily to distorting effects which all too frequently make the pictures of men and their times not merely caricatures, but travesties of the originals.

Of the many eminent people in history who have suffered through the extravagant license arrogated to themselves by romanticists, perhaps Louis XI of France is the one whose fame with posterity has been the most seriously injured. In many species of romantic writing he has been made a central figure, and as a rule transformed from his real self and made into a monstrous figure with no good feature to redeem the evil of which he is presented as the very incarnation. Nevertheless his achievement as king in a very critical age for France and as one of the greatest architects of her national unity, as attested by sober historical record, contradicts in almost every detail the presentation of the romanticists.

To return to the books mentioned at the beginning of this paper, Miss Mabie's book does not call for much attention. It is a romance in the traditional manner as regards its matter. Its style is her own, bearing the hall-marks of its age in its superficial smartness and lack of taste. Louis is presented as the ogre of romanticist traditions, with all the unpleasant features of this manner of portraiture deepened and intensified. Miss Mabie's Californian origin has evidently exercised influence on her literary development, in which Hollywood and its products

would seem to have counted for not a little. In style and matter she seems to have aimed at crude melodrama—and she has been not unsuccessful. Her book is mainly a rehash of the stale and sordid details of the stock-in-trade of her predecessors who have made Louis a figure in romantic fiction. She has deepened the blacks in her portrait, and has drawn upon her imagination to supply details which neither history nor the inventiveness of her models have supplied. As has been said, her book merits little attention ; but it is a common type of the literature by which the judgments of uncritical readers are distorted on issues that are much more important in their ultimate consequences than are the particular matters with which they are immediately concerned.

Of Miss Mabie's predecessors in the sphere of historical libel the most important is Sir Walter Scott. Because of his great genius he is all the greater sinner. His novel *Quentin Durward*, published in 1823, is generally admitted to be one of the greatest of his historical novels founded on that medieval period which, for many reasons, had so great an attraction for him, but for depicting which in a true sense he was in many important respects singularly unfitted. For the external features of medievalism Scott had a natural affinity. His mansion at Abbotsford was the concrete emblem of his romantic interest in the Middle Ages. It was, it is true, no more than a sham reproduction of a medieval structure—a Wardour Street attempt to reproduce a medieval baronial keep, an utter incongruity in the age in which it was erected. Nevertheless, with all its tawdry unrealities it was a material embodiment of Scott's conceptions of the Middle Ages.

Mr. Wyndham Lewis well points out that the secret of understanding medievalism lies in the sympathetic knowledge and appreciation of the Catholic Church, which was the inspiration of its multiform life. Without this key to its spirit that age can never be known as it was in reality. Scott had not this key ; he could not have had it because

of the circumstances of his upbringing. His childhood was passed in an atmosphere of the narrowest Presbyterian Calvinism, to which everything that was Catholic was repugnant, and from which, notwithstanding the broadening of his views that came with later experiences and ambitions, he was never wholly emancipated. His biography by his son-in-law, Lockhart, contains abundant proofs of a narrowness and bigotry of outlook on the Catholic Church that one is somewhat surprised to come upon in one so genuinely anxious to be a sort of modern incarnation of the *beau idéal* of the chivalrous code of conduct. But it was only the husk of medieval chivalry that Scott knew—its trappings and externals, with their picturesqueness and colour ; and in the period of its decay, its tawdry theatrical tinsel, from which the soul that gave it meaning and reality in its prime had fled. Hence the irritation and dissatisfaction which Catholic readers must frequently feel when reading the pages of his novels that deal with the Europe of the Catholic faith. Again and again they encounter arid spots which they instinctively feel are out of keeping with the surroundings in which they are placed. The effect, and it is natural, is that in the view of such readers the least successful of the Waverley novels are those whose scene is laid in a medieval setting. Their attraction for them does not commonly last beyond the period of youth, when immaturity of judgment and knowledge usually makes us content with the picturesque and glowing manner in which the external aspects are presented, and when we do not seek anything deeper that will give to what we admire real claims to our admiration.

Scott, as we have said, never outgrew the hostility to Catholicity which his early training implanted in him. His religious outlook changed in many ways in the course of his life, but the change was rather in the direction of weakening all genuine religious belief than in that of strengthening and deepening it. His religion came to be what his admiring critics of the middle and later years

of the nineteenth century were fond of praising as the religion of good sense—that is to say, a religion emptied of all tinge of supernaturalism, a thoroughly "decent" and seemly religion, that in few respects differed from the tenets of respectable paganism. It is significant that he changed from the kirk of his childhood to Anglicanism, the latter being a form of religious observance that had greater affinity with his social ambitions than had the less aristocratic form of worship in which he had been brought up.

Let us turn, however, from generalities to his own words as we find them in his Life by his son-in-law. In a letter to Southey (Vol. III) he says: "I am not, God knows, a bigot in religious matters, nor a friend to persecution," and he goes on to refer to his views on Catholic Emancipation, which he did not like for political reasons; but it is clear enough that his dislike had a stronger root than political prejudice. His tour in Ireland (1825) brought him into contact with a Catholic people. His biographer records that, though the party had generous experience of Catholic hospitality, they had not met in social intercourse "one specimen of the Romish priesthood," and they took this to mean that there were "but few gentlemen of that order." For Scott, at that period, the model of gentlemanly deportment was the elderly debauchee known as the "First Gentleman of Europe," of whom, as a recent English writer states, "no good can be said, and the less said the better." Doubtless the Romish priesthood had but few specimens fashioned on that model; but one feels that Scott's scepticism as to the social standing of the Irish priesthood was more deeply rooted than in the failure to encounter suitable specimens on his Irish tour. In Vol. VIII, in a letter to Miss Joanna Baillie anent this tour, he contrasts the Orangemen and the Catholics:—

> The determined Orangemen are a fine race . . . they seem to walk still among the Catholics with all the pride of the conquerors

of the Boyne and the captors of Limerick. . . . the Catholic is holding up his head now in a different way from what he did in former days. . . . though still with a touch of the savage about him. It is after all a helpless sort of superstition, which with its saints' days and the influence of its ignorant, bigoted priesthood destroys ambition and industrious exertion. It is rare to see the Catholic rise above the line he is born in.

Yet Scott, the student of medievalism, must have known that Catholicism was no obstacle to men's material progress, and he must also have known, as a student of contemporary history, that the failure of Catholics—Irish Catholics—in his own day to cut a figure in the social world of Scott and his fellows was due to something other than the influence of their religious creed. Later in the same volume he is quoted from his Diary as speaking of the "absurdity of saint worship, which degrades their religion." His views on this particular question of religious observance explain in strong fashion his dislike of Louis XI, whom he represents as a grovelling and superstitious saint worshipper. Vol. IX quotes the Diary again :—

I hold Popery to be such a mean and degrading superstition that I am not sure I could have found myself liberal enough for voting the repeal of the penal laws as they existed before 1780. They must, and would in course of time, have smothered Popery ; and I confess I should have seen the old lady of Babylon's mouth stopped with pleasure. . . Unopposed, the Catholic superstition may sink into the dust, with its absurd ritual and solemnities . . . the world is as silly as ever, and a good competence of nonsense will always find believers . . . Animal magnetism, phrenology, etc., have all had their believers, and why not Popery ?

Now all those views regarding Catholicity are the holder's own concern. A man is entitled to freedom in his beliefs, and one's only concern with those views of Scott has to do with their bearing on his use of the materials for his historical romances. It is quite evident that it is at least difficult for a writer holding such convictions to deal in impartial fashion with any typical medieval period, especially in connection with such a complex per-

sonality as that of Louis XI of France, in whose multiform character religion played so strong a part. In *Quentin Durward* Scott recognises fully the king's ability as a ruler in the sphere and amid the conditions in which he was compelled to exercise his rule, but always with limitations and reservations due to the bias of judgment with which he approached the study of his personality. His dislike of Louis is due to many causes, chief among which, one cannot but feel, is his distaste for the religion in which Louis was a really sincere believer. Doubtless the king's conduct did not always square with the tenets of his creed, but this is too severe a canon to apply to a man in the position of Louis in any age, and especially in the age in which he had to work out his policy. For Scott, Louis is the personification of the spirit of evil, whose evil is all the worse because of the gross and debasing superstition by which that evil was accompanied.

The evidence for many of the crimes with which Louis is charged comes from tainted sources, from sources which in regard to another person would be rightly held suspect. That Scott is ready to accredit such charges is, we may fairly think, due not a little to his dislike for the strongly marked observance of Catholic practice so prominent in the life of Louis. In the introduction written for the edition of 1833, the novelist summarises his judgment of the king as follows :—

> The cruelties, the perjuries, the suspicions of this prince were rendered more detestable by the gross and degrading superstition which he constantly practised. The devotion to the heavenly saints, of which he made such a parade, was upon the miserable principle of some petty deputy in office, who endeavours to hide or atone for the malversations of which he is conscious by liberal gifts to those whose duty it is to observe his conduct, and endeavours to support a system of fraud by an attempt to corrupt the incorruptible.

If this is a fair presentation of Louis' religious motives, then one can only wonder that a man of this type could ever have been accounted one of the most subtle and crafty

monarchs that ever ruled. Miss Mabie's portrait of Louis is something that wavers between a fool and a buffoon, and her picture of the king at his devotions may have its justification in what she perhaps looks upon as an attempt to present her readers with a clownish figure suitable for a comedy or a farce. But when in *Quentin Durward* the king is represented as a person of acknowledged power in the life of his time, exercising a vast influence not only in France but in all the countries of Europe, it is surely straining the credulity of even the most uncritical reader to expect him to take such a figure as the just presentation of a great monarch. The contrast between capacity and downright imbecility involved in such a method of historical portraiture is too great for common sense to accept. Louis may have been a hypocrite, but he was not the absolute fool that the inconsistencies in Scott's conception of his character would seem to imply.

Another example of the uncritical spirit in which Scott deals with the religious side of Louis is seen in the prayer which he puts into his mouth when, having procured the murder of his brother, he was about to procure another murder. Scott terms it an extraordinary prayer and explicable only by the "grossness of his superstition." Not only is the prayer extraordinary, but blasphemous and supremely foolish as well. Louis had not procured the murder of his brother Charles, who in fact had not been murdered at all, and therefore he had no need to pray for pardon for a crime he had not committed. Scott says he has transcribed it from an old chronicler—he does not seem to query its genuineness, but proceeds in a note to quote a parallel prayer ascribed to Louis by Brantôme, whose testimony is apparently accepted as satisfactory evidence. Scott was ready to take anything for granted, no matter how foolish or repugnant to common sense, in the matter of Catholic devotion. If he could, in the nineteenth century, record it as his sober opinion of Catholicism, that it was "a mean and degrading super-

stition," there was something to explain his holding that its devotional practices in the fifteenth century were of the kind that he ascribes to Louis.

The truth is that Scott was uncritical in his use of history. He was a man of wide reading, and he was able to draw upon a vast range of writers to help him in his imaginative reconstruction of the past. However, as has been said, he accepted them in an uncritical spirit. He knew Commines, and one would think that a knowledge of this work, marked strongly by its writer's temperamental sanity and wide and varied experience of life, would have provided some correction against the improbable details given in the other authorities he consulted for his materials. In relying on these writers, he does not seem to have taken into account that for the most part they were partisan writers—some of them in the pay of Louis's great enemy, the House of Burgundy ; others such as Thomas Basin, the Bishop of Lisieux, his envenomed foes on both personal and public grounds. From such sources are drawn most of the incidents that give the element of picturesqueness to the romanticist tales woven round the name of Louis. The result is that between the Louis of romance and the Louis of history there is as much resemblance as there was between the stucco, lath and plaster edifice built by Scott at Abbotsford and the solid castle of carven oak and stone of the Middle Ages.

We have said that for the true understanding of the medieval period one requires the key to its secret that is provided by a sympathetic understanding of the spirit of that Church to which the age was so much indebted in its secular no less than in its spiritual aspects. This sympathy and understanding Mr. Wyndham Lewis possesses in abundant measure. Hence his picture of the "Spider King" is much more convincing than the romanticist school of writers can supply. Mr. Lewis is himself, it must be said, a writer of romance, and this book, solidly founded as it is on the most recent and accurate historical

investigation of the period, is none the less a work of romance. His delineation of Louis, if in some features an unamiable picture, is a powerful presentation of a man and not of a monster. The Catholic Church, with her doctrinal teaching and her ritual, her cathedrals and shrines in which were embodied her spirit, is rightly made the background on which the main personages are depicted. Thus, much that would otherwise be mere empty forms, picturesque no doubt, comes to have a meaning. The achievement of Louis for France, his love for her soil, his passionate determination to unite the scattered and sundered portions of his heritage, to render it triumphant over its foes within and without its bounds, his unwearied wanderings up and down on his unending pilgrimages to holy shrines and in prosecution of his diplomatic ends, are all given with a convincing power, and with a fascination of style that is redolent of the fragrance and flavour that belong as of their essence to the Middle Ages.

We have stressed the importance of Mr. Lewis's book, because it is the surest guide to the student of the period with which it deals that has as yet appeared in the English tongue. The authorities on which it is based, as we have said, are among the most competent scholars at work on the history of France. The result of their labours is not to whitewash Louis, but to rehabilitate him as a great modern king, to whose untiring love for France that country owes much of the glory that was to be hers in after ages. Louis, indeed, was not a hero in his outward appearance—nor, indeed, in many of the episodes of his life. He was not a dutiful son, but perhaps there is much to be said that may lessen the charges against him on this score, though they cannot annul them. Neither was he a model husband, though here too he may claim that he was as good as most and better than many of those of his rank in either his own or succeeding times. His religion he seems to have held with sincerity, and if his life was not always in consonance with his beliefs, well, who is entitled

to cast a stone against him on this ground ? He was not a saint, but for his sins he at least tried to be repentant, and in this matter the question lies between him and God. No one has a right to intrude here, and least of all have those who see in the Catholic Church nothing but an engine of superstition and soul distortion.

Louis lived in an age when the medieval age was passing away, and when a new era was coming into being. The change was attended by the confusion and disorder that accompany any breach in the fabric of habit, any disturbance in the " cake of custom " to which men have been moulded. Much of what was old was unsuited to the new conditions, and therefore much to which men clung was an obstacle in the path of those who saw more clearly than their fellows the needs of the new age. The feudal forms and ideals that had been of service to men, when they too were innovations, had now become outworn and were merely impediments to the well-being of the new age, but they had all the strength and prestige that attach to vested interests at all times. The code of chivalry to which in earlier times men had owed so much was now become mainly a matter of pageantry and empty display, powerless to influence those who cherished its forms to act in the spirit in which they were designed. Against all these forces the man of the new age had inevitably to struggle, and as the forces were powerful for their own conservation, the man of the new age had to rely against them on superior intelligence.

Of this intelligence that the new age demanded Louis was the very incarnation. His supple brain was ever at work to devise means to secure his line of advance. The old struggles were fought and determined by force ; the new struggles, while still needing force, were still more dependent on intelligence and the weapon it devised, diplomacy. Much that diplomacy put into practice—and this is as true of the diplomacy of our own day as it was of the age of Louis—was in conflict with received prin-

ciples of morality, and hence the bad name of those who worked it for their advantage. All those factors count for much in giving to Louis the ill repute that has been and still is his inheritance.

The term applied to him by a hostile chronicler, " the universal spider," is evidence of the all-embracing webs spun by his crafty diplomacy, and the success that attended his policy embittered his opponents all the more. Much of his practice, as indeed much in the practice of all diplomats in every age and place, would be necessarily open to condemnation by the principles of any plain and straightforward ethical code ; but men's judgments on the great facts of history have generally allowed for some ethical flexibility, as compared with their judgments in the sphere of private morality. The triumphs of diplomacy are often won at the expense of the strict moral code, and if its violation is to be reprobated, well, Louis XI ought not to be judged by a severer standard than many others who are high in the favour of those who reprobate his actions.

At any rate, in the calm judgment of historians his claim to greatness as a ruler, in virtue of his aims and actual achievements, is fully allowed. Michelet long ago pronounced this verdict, judging him from the angle of his services to France. In our own day that verdict has been approved by workers who have had advantages of fuller research into documents than was available in Michelet's time. Historians such as Pingaud, Petit-Dutaillis, Funck Brentano, Pierre Champion, give him his rightful place among the great makers of France. Their work explodes the falsifications and travesties which so long passed for history, and justifies the opinions of the eighteenth century biographer, of whose work has survived but one phrase, in which Louis's character is succinctly summed up—*c'était un roi.*

W. J. Williams

THE FOUNDRESS OF THEOSOPHY [1]

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

HELENA PETROVNA BLAVATSKY (née Hahn) was born in Russia a hundred years ago, on July 31, 1831, and to commemorate this centenary "the Blavatsky Association"—not to be identified with any branch of the Theosophical Society—has reprinted, with certain additions, a volume of memorial notices originally published in 1891 immediately after her death. It cannot be matter of surprise that the tone of these tributes, penned at such a moment by some two dozen of her most devoted adherents, is extremely flattering. There is scarcely any epithet, this side idolatry, which is lacking in the collection. She is "the noblest and grandest woman the century has produced"; she was "the best and truest of teachers, the most faithful and untiring of messengers." We are told of "her lion's glance and her diamond heart." "There is no record," so an admirer states, "of any such teacher in the western world since our boasted civilization emerged from barbarism." To one "she was the most marvellous personage of the century," to another "the most intellectual woman I have ever known," while yet a third, referring presumably to her moral and mental qualities rather than to her physical bulk,[2] is content to say: "She was simply an upright and romantically honest giantess."

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[1] *H. P. B.; In Memory of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky.* By some of her Pupils. London: The Blavatsky Association. 1931. Pp. 200. 6s. 6d.

The Mysterious Madame. A Life of H. P. Blavatsky. By "Ephesian" (C. Bechhofer Roberts). London: John Lane. 1931. Pp. 242. 7s. 6d.

Some Unpublished Letters of H. P. Blavatsky. With an Introduction and Commentary by E. R. Corson. London: Rider. 1930. Pp. 256. 10s. 6d.

The Dictionary of American Biography. Vol. II. (1929). Article upon H. P. Blavatsky by Ernest Sutherland Bates.

[2] Mme Blavatsky, as her portraits show, though not tall, was extremely stout. She sometimes described herself as "a hippopotamus of a woman," and writing to strangers whom she was anxious to conciliate, would prepare them for a shock by a humorous avowal of "two most disgusting vices" (swearing and smoking) and by lamenting over the disabilities of "that clumsy Russian form of mine."

The insistence upon her engaging frankness and sincerity, which is conspicuous in so many of these appreciations, stands in marked contrast to, and was perhaps not uninfluenced by, the very different tone of the verdict delivered a few years before by Professor Henry Sidgwick in the name of the Society for Psychical Research. In 1884 that Society had undertaken to conduct an investigation of the marvellous phenomena alleged to have been produced in India and elsewhere by Madame Blavatsky's agency. The phenomena were very varied, but were predominantly concerned with the precipitation of messages written by the "Mahatmas," said to be living men, but adepts in the mystical theosophic lore of the East. These communications, which purported to travel almost instantaneously from Tibet or from a great distance, embodied the spiritual guidance of the masters. Most of them were in a characteristic handwriting and were signed "Koot Hoomi." They seemed to drop from the ceiling or they appeared unaccountably in the most unexpected places, for example inside sealed letters which had certainly been posted without any such enclosure. Mr. R. Hodgson having been sent out to India by the S. P. R. became convinced after a prolonged investigation that these and other phenomena were, for the most part, fraudulent, and that the bulk of the Mahatma letters had been written by Madame Blavatsky herself. In accord with these findings the Committee published a report, the last sentence of which, having reference to that lady, is couched in the following terms: "For our own part we regard her neither as the mouthpiece of hidden seers, nor as a mere vulgar adventuress: we think that she has achieved a title to permanent remembrance as one of the most accomplished, ingenious and interesting impostors in history."[1] To this may be added another utterance of Professor Sidgwick of somewhat later date, in which he speaks of "the mingled

[1] *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, Vol. III., p. 207.

qualities of the woman's nature—her supple craft and reckless audacity, her intellectual vigour and elastic vitality, her genuine *bonhomie*, affectionateness and (on occasion) persuasive pathos."[1]

All this, of course, is ancient history, but the imputations of the S. P. R. Committee are still deeply resented by the adherents of that Buddhistic teaching which Madame Blavatsky gradually evolved and which goes by the name of Theosophy.[2] Has the character of the foundress, and in particular her credit as an honest witness to the truth, been vindicated since her death? Many letters of hers have now been published, and there is much other new material within the reach of all. My contention in the present paper is that, whatever may be said for or against the reality of her alleged phenomena, H. P. B.—it is convenient to adopt this familiar designation used by her fellow Theosophists—was absolutely untrustworthy in all her statements of fact. Every fragment of new evidence which has been brought to light in the past forty years goes to show that she was a woman who habitually told any convenient lie which she thought at the moment to be safe from detection. This, it is plain, must be a particularly serious failing in the case of one who claimed that the doctrine she taught had come to her by private revelation. No evidence for such a mission could be produced. Her disciples had to take her word for it that she was the mouthpiece of the hidden seers. H. P. B. saw the weak point clearly enough, and that was why she struggled for many years to accredit her pronouncements by the mysterious blue-pencilled Mahatma scripts which have given rise to so much discussion.

Of her early career we know very little apart from her own fantastic and inconsistent statements. Married in 1848, she promptly ran away from her elderly husband.

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[1] U. Soloviov, *A Modern Priestess of Isis*, Preface, p. iv.

[2] See, for example, the recent correspondence in *The Times Literary Supplement* occasioned by Mr. Bechhofer Roberts' book, *The Mysterious Madame*.

She declared that he was old enough to be her grandfather, but that was a wild exaggeration. For nearly a quarter of a century she led a wandering life,—a life of grave moral irregularity. Her first cousin Count Witte, in his *Memoirs* (published in 1921), speaks particularly of her prolonged association with an opera-singer, Mitrovich, and also of a second liaison with an Englishman unnamed. Moreover we know that there were other stories about a Baron Meyendorff and a mysterious adopted child. All this cannot have been mere gossip. Count Witte had been Finance Minister in the Imperial Russian Government and was a well-informed statesman of high character. He avers that when he was a student at Odessa he used to visit his cousin, who was at that time living there with Mitrovich and, it seems, bearing his name. When Mitrovich accepted an engagement to sing in Cairo, H. P. B. set out with him for Egypt. For years she had been interested in the occult and was recognised as a medium. Consequently when they were ship-wrecked and Mitrovich was drowned, she, destitute of resources, tried to organise a *Société spirite* in Cairo, but the attempt failed. She travelled to Paris, and from thence to New York, where we find her in 1874. From that time forward her movements can be traced without difficulty.

At first, as there will be further occasion to notice, she posed in America as devoted to spiritualism and sought to make a living by it in partnership with Col. Olcott. Unfortunately, however, just at that time, owing mainly to the scandal created by the exposure of certain mediums, the whole movement in the United States sustained a tremendous set-back.[1] By the end of March 1875, H. P. B., in dire financial straits, found that spiritualism would no longer support her. Though not, like Mary Baker Eddy, a woman to whom money made a great appeal, she was nevertheless compelled to look

[1] Perhaps I may be allowed to refer to a booklet of mine, *Modern Spiritualism* (Sheed and Ward), in which (pp.16-43) a fuller account of this astonishing collapse is given.

round for some means of livelihood. Her father had died shortly before; she had no resources of her own. How was she to earn money enough to keep body and soul together? Though Olcott had been well paid for his Chittenden articles in the *New York Graphic*, his book on the same subject found no sale, owing to the revulsion from spiritualism which had just come about. H. P. B. wrote to the spiritualist A. N. Aksakov in Russia that "Olcott is sitting upon heaps of his *People from the Other World*, like Marius on the ruins of Carthage, and thinking bitter things. Not a thousand copies have been sold in four months." Her first solution of the financial difficulty was to marry again, though she had not been divorced and her husband, General Blavatsky, was still living. She had recently met a compatriot of hers from the Caucasus, a man much younger than herself, who was trading as a merchant in Philadelphia. On 3 April, 1875, she was married to him by a Unitarian clergyman, giving her age in the register as 36, when she was actually 43.[1] But the new experiment in wedlock did not turn out well. H. P. B's. habits of life were not conducive to domestic harmony, and besides she discovered when it was too late that Mr. Betanelly was by no means so affluent a person as she had supposed. H. P. B. lived at the charges of her new husband for a few weeks; but that, as Olcott despondently records, was all that they ever got out of him. She left him after a month or two, though strange to say the formal divorce, granted on the plea of the wife's desertion, was not obtained until 25 May 1878. Anyway, the problem of ways and means remaining unsolved, Olcott and she now bethought them that they might take advantage of the reaction against spiritualism by declaiming against the frauds of mediums and the

[1] In Olcott's *People from the Other World*, two letters from Betanelly are printed, showing that the latter was led to seek H. P. B's. acquaintance through Olcott's account of the Caucasian manifestations of the Eddy brothers at Chittenden. But already by 16 February, 1875, we find H. P. B. posting a letter to Professor Corson in an envelope of "Betanelly and Co., Russian-American Commission Merchants, Philadelphia, Pa." See the Corson letters, p. 127.

degrading influence of contact with elementary spirits, which, as Madame began to insist, were the normal agents of all physical phenomena. The occult was a subject in which they had both specialized, and the first idea which occurred to them was the starting of a "Miracle Club" for the investigation of the preternatural. But the scheme from the outset gave little promise of success. Already on 24 May 1875, we find H. P. B. writing to Aksakov: "Here you see is my trouble; to-morrow there will be nothing to eat. Something quite out-of-the-way must be invented. It is doubtful if Olcott's 'Miracle Club' will help."[1]

It was out of these unpromising beginnings and mainly as an expedient to procure bread and butter for two disgruntled spiritualists that the Theosophical Society came into existence on 7 Sept. 1875. The avowed aims of this organization were (1) to form a nucleus of the universal brotherhood of humanity; (2) to encourage the study of comparative religion; (3) to investigate the unexplained laws of nature and the powers latent in man. A certain number of people of intellectual standing were at first attracted by this programme, but most of these before long withdrew their support.[2] Those who remained were the cranks, the would-be occultists, the schemers and the weak-minded. One wonders to which class Mr. Newton belonged, the "millionaire" whose capture H. P. B. gleefully reported to Aksakov. Concurrently with this effort to raise funds she began a big book. She told the same correspondent that on the advice

[1] *A Modern Priestess of Isis*, p. 253.

[2] There is a curious link between the two extraordinary women, Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy, the Foundress of Christian Science, and Madame Blavatsky, the Foundress of Theosophy, which has not, I think, been previously pointed out. The aims of the two high-priestesses were wide as the poles asunder, but the Rev. James Henry Wiggin, Unitarian Minister, who in 1885 became Mrs. Eddy's literary adviser and who mended her grammar in the later editions of *Science and Health*, was also present at the meeting of 7 September, 1875, attended by Mme. Blavatsky, when the scheme of the Theosophical Society first took shape. See Olcott's *Old Diary Leaves*, I., p. 114. It seems certain, however, that Wiggin was too intelligent a man to become a member of either organization. Is it possible that he was the Unitarian clergyman who married H. P. B. to Betanelly in April 1875?

of "John King"—of whom more anon—she had decided to call it *Skeleton Keys to Mysterious Gates*. This is also the name announced by Olcott in a letter to *The Spiritualist*, a London journal, in which he declares that the book "is destined to make as profound a sensation as anything that Spencer or Huxley ever wrote."[1] It appeared eventually in 1877 as *Isis Unveiled*, "John King" having by that time been completely deposed from his office of H. P. B's. supreme counsellor and guide in the world of spirits. But not even yet do we hear anything definite of the Mahatmas from Tibet. It is the "Brotherhood of Luxor" in Upper Egypt which occupies the foreground in her programme, and Olcott refers to the same mysterious society in writing to London.[2] The Pyramids, Tunis and Egypt absorbed for a long time the attention of the newly affiliated Theosophists, so that Mr. Felt, who claimed expert knowledge of the subject, was appointed to deliver a course of lectures upon Egyptian magic and upon the method of dealing with elementals in the land of Serapis.[3] Meanwhile Madame Blavatsky, working with prodigious industry upon her book, was accumulating fresh ideas about the Far East, and ended by convincing herself that for the reception of such theories of a mystical world-religion as she was developing, Hindostan offered a much more promising soil than could be anywhere found in America, Europe or Africa. Accordingly at the close of 1878 the Headquarters of the Theosophical Society were transferred from the United States, and, after a temporary sojourn of three years in Bombay, found their final home in 1882 at Adyar, near Madras.

At what precise moment the Mahatma legend was hatched it is not easy to say. Mrs. Annie Besant, the

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[1] *The Spiritualist*, 5 Nov., 1875, p. 228.

[2] *The Medium and Daybreak*, 3 Sept., 1875, p. 572. See also Olcott, *Old Diary Leaves*, Vol. I., pp. 75-76.

[3] See G. Basenden Butt, *Madame Blavatsky*, p. 38; and cf. D. D. Home, *Lights and Shadows of Modern Spiritualism*, pp. 296 and 324.

actual President of the Theosophical Society, enunciates it thus in a few brief sentences: "H. P. Blavatsky was a Russian noble-woman of extraordinary psychic endowments, and these had been trained and cultivated to the highest point by her 'master' [*Mahatma*], an Eastern occultist; she gave up social rank, wealth and family to seek him in Tibet and spent some years with him near Shigatze; after which, returning to the world, she devoted the rest of her life to carrying out his directions. In America she met . . . . Col. H. S. Olcott, and he became her pupil. She endeavoured first to collaborate with the American spiritualists, but failing in this, she, with Olcott, founded the Theosophical Society."[1] This was the account which in H. P. B's. later years was circulated everywhere, but since the publication (in 1925) of her letters to A. P. Sinnett some further detail has become available.[2] It would seem that the tutelage of the sages of Tibet began when she paid a visit to London in 1851. As her latest biographer tells the story:—

> The Government of Nepal, a native State in the Himalayas, had sent a delegation to England. Among its members was a turbaned Indian whom Helena at once recognised as the man whose face had been familiar to her in childhood visions. "I saw him twice," she told Sinnett. "Once he came out of the crowd; then he ordered me to meet him in Hyde Park. I *cannot, must not, speak* of this. I would not publish it for the world." Despite this reticence, however, she permitted it to be known that this meeting, in so odd a setting, convinced her of two facts which determined her whole future: first, that, concealed in the unexplored valleys of the Himalayas, lived certain "masters," or "Mahatmas," of whom her turbaned acquaintance was one; secondly that she had been chosen to be their messenger to mankind.[3]

In all her subsequent life, so she afterwards maintained, this supernal influence was dominant. She was being trained for her high mission and sent hither and

[1] *The Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII., p. 303.

[2] See especially *Letters to Sinnett*, pp. 150-151.

[3] Bechhofer Roberts, *The Mysterious Madame*, p. 1?

thither as her guides directed. From an alleged three or even seven years' stay, Sinnett, routed by her inconsistencies and evasions, was compelled to reduce the period of her residence in Tibet to eleven months. There is not a scrap of real evidence to prove that she was ever there at all, or that any of the adventures and manifestations which she connected with Java, Mexico, California, Africa and heaven knows where, had any other existence than in her dreams.

The compiler of the very candid account of Madame Blavatsky which appears in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (1929), the worthy counterpart of the English *Dictionary of National Biography*, had access to newspapers of which no file exists on this side of the Atlantic. He tells us :—

> No accurate record of these [early] years can be pieced together from her own utterly unreliable and contradictory statements. Thus in her first interview in America in 1874 (*New York Graphic*, Nov. 13) she made no mention of having been in India, but claimed to have made a fortune by selling ostrich feathers in Africa, and on another occasion to have penetrated into the Sudan and lived for four months without ever seeing a white face, while incidentally translating Darwin and Buckle into Russian ! Later, in the information she gave to A. P. Sinnett, the ostrich feathers, Darwin and Buckle were forgotten, but three trips to India and a residence in Tibet were substituted. In 1858 she was, according to her own statement, " converted to Spiritualism " by the celebrated Daniel D. Home in Paris.

This conversion to Spiritualism is a point of primary importance. Every bit of reliable evidence we possess goes to show that down to the early part of 1875 H. P. B., so far as she was identified with any religious views or any philosophy of life, was simply an ordinary spiritualist, in the sense in which Home himself, or Katie Fox, or Robert Dale Owen were spiritualists. She made no distinctions at that time between the phenomena produced by elementals and the genuine manifestations of discarnate human beings. Her " control " in the spirit

world was John King, the supposed buccaneer of the seventeenth century, who was also claimed as a guide by many of the most prominent mediums of the day—for example by Williams, the Holmeses and the Davenport Brothers. H. P. B. made no disguise about her dependence upon John King. On 11 February 1875 she wrote to Aksakov that "John King has sent Olcott to Havana for a few days," and she takes occasion to remark :—

> Now the spirits are my brothers and sisters, my father and mother. *My*[1] John King alone is a sufficient recompense for all; he is a host in himself to me . . . . John King is here in his own person, with his own black beard and his white Chinese saucer-up-side-down cap, going about here in America from one medium to another. . . . No, John King is a personality, a definite living, spiritual personality. Whether devil or good spirit, he is at all events a spirit, and not the medium's prototype.

Even two months later (12 April 1875) she still writes :—

> The spirit John King is very fond of me, and I am fonder of him than of any thing on earth. He is my only friend, and if I am indebted to anyone for the radical change in my ideas of life, my efforts and so on, it is to him alone. He has transformed me[2] . . . . John and I are acquainted from old times, long before he began to materialize in London and take walks in the medium's house with a lamp in his hand.

Moreover Olcott in his printed book, *People from the Other World* (1875), echoed this language and claimed personal acquaintance with John King, calling him "the busiest and most powerful spirit connected with this whole modern spiritualism." He added that H. P. B. had "encountered John 14 years ago in Russia and Circassia, and had seen him and talked with him in Egypt and India."[3] This implies that his influence began

[1] Italics mine. This letter is printed in *A Modern Priestess of Isis*, p. 243

[2] Ibid. p. 247. How can this possibly be reconciled with her later story of Mahatma guidance begun in 1851? There can be no doubt of the genuineness of these letters to Aksakov. Aksakov was a man of high character, who was received in Court circles and had abundant private means. When Soloviov published these letters, Aksakov was still living and intellectually very vigorous.

[3] In a letter to Corson, however, Jan. 1876, H. P. B. says: "I cannot control John, and I have given him up," p. 175.

as early as 1861—an interesting circumstance, especially when taken in conjunction with the positive statement made by her to the interviewer of the *New York Daily Graphic* that she had been converted to spiritualism by the famous medium D. T. Home in 1858.

For the extraordinary fact is this, that in 1884 H. P. B., with something more than even her wonted audacity, not only denied that she had ever been a spiritualist, but wrote to a newspaper to tell the world that she had never known or even seen a medium before 1873. It would have been difficult to believe this, even if all rebutting evidence had been lacking. Count Witte her cousin, Mme Jelihowsky her sister, and others as well, discourse at great length upon the prodigious mediumistic feats she herself performed in the early days at Pskoff, Rougodevo and Tiflis. Is it conceivable that anyone, absorbed as she professed to be in the study of the occult, and roving at will through Europe, America and the East, would never have had the curiosity to make acquaintance with a medium? Had she, in particular, completely obliterated Home from her memory? Nevertheless these are the words of her printed letter :—

> I say again I never was a spiritualist. I have always known the reality of mediumistic phenomena and defended that reality; that is all. . . . As regards mediums, séances and spiritualistic "philosophy" so called—belief in the latter alone constituting a spiritualist—then it may possibly stagger your readers to learn that I had never known or even seen a medium, nor ever found myself in a séance room, before March 1873, when I was passing through Paris on my way to America.[1]

It must be confessed that H. P. B's. denial that she was ever a spiritualist reads strangely enough when confronted with her letters to Aksakov and to Professor Corson, written nine years earlier. In these she reiterates in every mood and tense that she was devoted heart

[1] Letter from Madame Blavatsky addressed to *Light* and printed in the issue of 11 Oct., 1884, p. 418.

and soul to spiritualism. Both her correspondents were ardent in the cause, and she had private reasons of her own for wanting to keep on good terms with them. Accordingly she tells Aksakov: "I am a spiritist and spiritualist in the full significance of both titles . . . .All my life is devoted to the doctrine. Were I rich, I would spend all my money to the last farthing pour la propagande de cette divine vérité. But my means are very slender and I am obliged to live by my work, by translating and writing in the papers." Or again, "I am ready to sell my soul for spiritualism, but nobody will buy it, and I am living from hand to mouth and working for 10 or 15 dollars when necessity comes." In her letters to Corson she shows all her subtle craft, having a difficult part to play, for he was on friendly terms with Colby and others whom she had attacked on account of the support they gave to fraudulent mediums. So she appeals very astutely to his pity. She is ill and likely to become a helpless cripple. But if her leg is paralyzed, her brain is not paralyzed. She can still do something "to protect my cowardly, timid, silently-suffering brother spiritualists."[1] She described herself as belonging to a set of "fanatics, crazy believers in spiritualism," but also as one "who has been truthful in every way."[2]

Absolute frankness and sincerity was Madame Blavatsky's life-long pose. No one could be more ready than she to make avowal of those of her shortcomings which people could not fail to find out for themselves. In such matters she always made it a point to forestall criticism. Even her letter-paper bore witness to her high principles. When the Theosophical Society was transferred to India she chose for its device the motto "There is no religion higher than Truth." It is not surprising, then, that H. P. B. in her Corson letters, which I regard as one of the most interesting examples in literature of feminine guile seeking its ends under the cloak of an

[1] *Letters to Prof. Corson*, p. 146. [2] *Ibid.* p. 165.

artless candour, she makes it appear that devotion to truth was the one great passion of her life. Thus she writes: "I will sooner forgive murder, or, worse than that, theft, than a lie; and Dr. Child is a biped lie, as you know yourself."[1] And again: "Lies and untruthfulness and cheating must be considered the greatest crimes in our sacred cause (*i.e.*, spiritualism), for they are the more dangerous in a belief that allows so much margin for deception and self-illusion, and ought to be persecuted above everything else."[2] Did Mme Blavatsky herself act upon these principles? The supposed Mahatma message to C. C. Massey, which H. P. B. admittedly directed a confederate to "put into Massey's pocket or some other still more mysterious place," seems hardly in accord with this standard.[3] But let me take an example which anyone who has access to Soloviov's *A Modern Priestess of Isis* and Sinnett's *Incidents in the Life of Madame Blavatsky* can easily verify for himself.

In October 1874 when H. P. B. spent a fortnight at Chittenden, and, while investigating the materialisations of the Eddy brothers, met Olcott for the first time, she was, as we gather from Olcott's letters to the *Graphic*, greatly impressed by what she witnessed. Certain it is that she wrote to Aksakov in glowing terms:—

> I talked for five minutes on the platform in Russian with my father, my uncle and other relations as though they were alive. Seven persons of my acquaintance, long dead, of different nations, appeared and talked to me, each in his own language, and walked away.[4]

[1] Dr. Child, it was alleged, had for his own ends encouraged and screened the frauds of Mr. and Mrs. Holmes, the mediums whose exposure had caused so great a sensation in 1874.

[2] *Letters to Corson*, p 137.

[3] This piece of deception not only led to the withdrawal from the Theosophical Society of Massey himself, but it helped to bring about the final disillusionment of A. P. Sinnett, who in his posthumous book *Early Days of Theosophy in Europe* (pp. 67-72), avowed that H. P. B. sometimes "stooped to simple cheating" and had "employed the Conlombs as confederates in her trickery." See also *Proceedings of the S. P. R.*, Vol. III., pp. 397 *seq.* Yet, even after the S. P. R. report, H. P. B. had written to Sinnett: "Remember, then, my dear faithful friend, who alone has remained such *in all Europe*." See *Letters to Sinnett*, pp. 187-188.

[4] *A Modern Priestess of Isis*, p. 225.

This letter was written only a week or ten days after the experience she describes, but on a subsequent occasion, wishing to persuade Aksakov to accept her translation of Olcott's book about the Eddy séances, she grows still more enthusiastic. She tells her correspondent how "seven materialized spirits in flesh and blood, all differently attired in their national costume, and speaking six different languages, appeared each evening, so that everybody heard them talk like living people." Her letter is half in French and half in Russian :—

Imaginez-vous, monsieur [she goes on], des esprits matérialisés de bons Russes parlant leur langue, des garçons Géorgiens, des hommes Khourdes, des Garibaldiens Hongrois et Italiens, et enfin mon oncle, the Russian president of the civil court at Grodno, with the cross of the Order of Anna on his neck . . . .And to crown the whole, in a separate sitting—" the dark circle "—a spirit bringing me my father's medal for the Turkish war of 1828, en me disaut ces mots devant tout le monde : " I bring you, Helen Blavatsky, the badge of honour received by your father for the war of 1828. We took this medal through *the influence of your uncle*, who appeared to you this night, from your father's grave at Stavropol and bring it to you as a remembrance of us in whom you believe and have faith." I know this medal, I have seen it on my father, . . . It is drawn in the (New York) *Graphic* and I have got it. . . . Fortunately there were forty witnesses. You cannot think what an impression this has produced on everyone.[1]

This was how H. P. B. wrote shortly after she had returned from the Eddy séances, when she was still the declared champion of Spiritualism and was anxious to persuade Aksakov to accept her translation of Olcott's book. In more than one epistle she lays stress upon the importance of these manifestations, without a hint of doubt or disapproval. But some few months later, when she had lost hope of making anything of spiritualism, and the Theosophical Society had been inaugurated in its place, she referred, in a letter she wrote to her sister Mme. Jelihowsky, to the matérialisations which attended the séances of the Eddy brothers.

[1] *A Modern Priestess of Isis*, p. 234.

It was ghastly [she says] to watch the process ! It made me often sick and giddy ; but I had to look at it, and the most I could do was to hold the disgusting creatures at arm's length. But it was a sight to see the welcome given to these *umbrae* by the spiritualists ! They wept and rejoiced around the medium, clothed in these empty materialised shadows ; rejoiced and wept again . . . . " If they could but see what I see," I often wished. If they only knew that these simulacra of men and women are made up wholly of the terrestrial passions, vices, and worldly thoughts, of the residuum of the personality that was, for these are only such dregs that could not follow the liberated soul and spirit, and are left for a second death in the terrestrial atmosphere that can be seen by the average medium and the public.[1]

Is it wonderful that Mr. E. S. Bates, summarising the career of Madame Blavatsky in the new *Dictionary of American Biography*, arrives at the conclusion that she was " unquestionably a charlatan," that her " character was the reverse of her own teachings," and that she was " one of the most unspiritual of women " ? He adds, however, that " she possessed the rare power of temporarily believing whatever she wanted to believe. Thus she hypnotized others, having first hypnotized herself." No doubt it is conceivable that the foundress of Theosophy hypnotized herself as well as others, but it is also to my thinking quite likely that she possessed real mediumistic powers and that some of her phenomena were genuine. It is her own cousin Count Witte who ends his notice of her with these words : " During her earthly existence she housed a spirit which was, no doubt, independent of her physical or physiological being. As to the particular realm of the invisible world from which that spirit emerged, there may be some question whether it was Hell, Purgatory or Paradise. I cannot help feeling that there was something demoniac in that extraordinary woman."

HERBERT THURSTON.

[1] A. P. Sinnett, *Incidents in the Life of Madame Blavatsky* (1886), p. 178.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

XIX

TO THE HOLY TRINITY

1. A Aṫair nua neaṁḋarḃa
ḋo ḃí riaṁ re n-a ḋúilib
tar mo ḃéaraiḃ neaṁġlana
ġaḃ ċuġaḋ meire a ḋúilim

2. A ṁic oċta [ro]ṀUire
ḋo ḟulaing páir ḋar nġráḋne
im ċroiḋere i ġcoṁnuiḋe
cuir féin tinneas ḋo ṗáire

3. A Spioraḋ naoṁ neaṁmarḃṫa
[re n]ḋaoinib ġlantar tiġe
tigeaḋ ḋíotra ḋeaġaḋḃa
ḋo ḋéanaṁ ḋuit im ċride.

4. [Tánaġair] ar t'earbalaib
toirrċe oram mar labair
ġaċ maiṫ riom go neaṁrġarṫair
na huilc riomra go rġarṫair.

5. A Ṫrionóid a ṫróċaire
ná leiġ eadrom ir m'ḟeiṫiom
méaḋaiġ féin ar nḋóċairne
ar nġráḋ agus ar ġcreiḋeaṁ.

6. Cuṁaċta ó n-ar nAṫairne
ir t'eagnara a ṁic ṁioċair
ḋo ġráḋra go ġclannaiġe
a Spioraḋ Naoṁ im rrioraiḋ.

7. Aoin'Dia uile cumactac
an triúrra ir ní trí dee
air nír ceird a gcrutacad
an talam [ir an teine]

8. Nír ceird ort, a Dúiliúre
dealb a-óir agus uirge
do na ceithre dúilibre
do róine tura an duine

9. Micéal ir a aircaingil
na hearrail ir na hóga
dom dion inran bratmainnir
ir na mairtire tróga. A at.

10. Nim creirineac miodaoire
im aoide nioprran geanmnaid
do diúnnac mo biocclaoine
gurbam eatal i reantaid

11. Catugad fri roinmige
aiccim gan dol i ndiomar
dá n-éatarra doinmige
ar dearcaoineab ná fiocar

12. A aoin'Dia na trócuire
iongaib rinn ar an carcair
a Íora-meic óg Muire
a Spiorad naomra a Atair

13. A Muire tret impide
an Spiorad Naom go [n-anaid]
am croide ir am inntinne
uait [an] Mac ir a Atair

14. Go dti díot ar n-aitnige
gac n-uaire d'éir ar dtuitme
a tobar na haitrige
dorlig d'anairt ir d'uirge

15. San Proinnréir San Doiminic
Pádraig Macá dom cabair
m'anam leo go gcoimbirid
fa bhlait i bhuile [a Athair]

Translation

1. O bright Heavenly Father, existing ever before all His creatures, take me to Thyself, O Creator, spite of all my impure deeds.
2. O bosom-Son of great Mary, who suffered for our love, in my heart fix ever the pain of Thy Passion.
3. O Holy Spirit immortal, may'st Thou succeed in making fair abode for Thyself in my heart; houses must be cleaned for visitors.
4. Thou camest on Thy Apostles, come as a flame on me too; may all good cleave to me, and all evil be put away from me.
5. O Trinity! O Mercy! leave me not to guard myself; do Thou increase my hope, my charity and my faith.
6. Power from my Father, Thy wisdom, O dear Son, and Thy love, O Holy Spirit—implant these in my heart.
7. These three are all one powerful God, not three gods; 'twas easy for Him to create the earth and the fire.
8. Easy for Thee, O Creator, to form the air and the water; of these four elements Thou madest man.
9. May Michael and his Archangels, the Apostles and Virgins, and the suffering Martyrs too, come to aid me in the place of temptation (?).
10. I am not pious in middle age, I was not chaste in youth; to cleanse my long perversity, may I be repentant in my old age.
11. I pray for strength to fight prosperity and not to wax proud; if I meet with adversity may I not fall into despair.
12. O only God of mercy, O Jesus Son of Virgin Mary, O Holy Spirit, O Father, save me from the prison.
13. O Mary, through thy prayer and operation may the Holy Spirit, the Son and His Father abide in my heart and mind.
14. Mayest thou cleanse me after every fall; wash them with cloth and water from the well of penance.
15. May St. Francis, St. Dominic, and Patrick of Macha, saving me, bring my soul to the kingdom where Thou art, O Father.

Notes

Leabhar Breac, *f.* 200.

MS. readings departed from are here noted.

1*a* ndasa (curve over n) 2*a* ogṁ. will not rime. 3*b* poiṁ o. 4*a* feiḃ tangair *c* -rgairt (overlined) *d* rgairt (overlined). 5*b* For similar phrases *cf.* ***Poems of Tadhg Dall*** by Miss E. Knott, Poem 30, verse 4, note. 6*d* a friothairt 7*b* dée *d* t. fa taeuir 8*b* aiois ir u. *c* duilimri 9*d* dín annra bhaṫmaindair 10*a* midairi (io overlined) *b* amaoide (oi overlined); geinm (overlined and dotted) *d* etal a fentaiġ 11*a* foinme (m overlined and dotted) *c* netairra doinme (m overlined and dotted) 12*b* air a c. *c* mc (overlined) 13*b* conataiġ; or *lege* n-ataid, "wax strong"? *d* a mc (overlined) 14*c* cobar 15*b* dom cob-*d* a athair *om.*

THE LATEST SOCIALISM.

BY HENRY SOMERVILLE, M.A.

THE attention given to it in the *Quadragesimo Anno* forbids us to regard Socialism as altogether a back number, though the present writer must admit to being one of those who have taken the view that Socialists, in all advanced countries, abandon their professed creed whenever they pass from the propaganda stage and attain responsibility and power. My point has been that Socialism is impossible except by way of confiscation and revolution, and unless Socialists are prepared to adopt violence, as they did in Russia, they stultify themselves. I think that some confirmation of this view is given in the Encyclical, which says that it would seem as if Socialism were afraid of its own principles. A friendly critic in this review once objected to my depreciation of the Socialist movement. He referred to the ability and earnestness of its leaders, the growing numbers of its adherents and the practical success of the Socialist government of Vienna in solving the housing problem. It has never been part of my case that the leaders of Socialism were not admirable characters ; the more we esteem them, the more significance we must attach to their abandonment of Socialism, and the increase of nominal Socialists only means that Socialism has been divesting itself of its obnoxious features, of all that makes it Socialism. I am too ignorant of the local conditions of Vienna to pass judgment on its municipal Socialism ; it may well be that Socialists do very good work in particular instances, and even that real Socialism has its good points.

When I speak of Socialism I mean the abolition of private ownership of land and capital, the means of production, and the substitution of some form of public ownership. Twenty years ago public ownership could be

specified as state and municipal ownership. For a period, just before the War and for a year or two after the war, there was a reaction amongst Socialists against the State and other political authorities, and "Guild Socialism" was in fashion. That fashion has now passed away. The majority of what I would call the back-bencher Socialists, who don't do much thinking, and only have to preach propaganda sermons to the converted, still have the habit of expressing themselves in terms of the old State Socialism. They are familiar with the State and its Post Office, with county councils and their roads, with municipalities owning gasworks, and it is easier to talk about extensions of known forms of public ownership than about non-existent guilds.

However, a change is rapidly coming about. The front-benchers have been talking for some time about the "Public Corporation" as perhaps the most characteristic form of Socialist industrial administration. The back-benchers are learning to lisp the words "Public Corporation," though still a little doubtful of their meaning. Mr. William Graham, the President of the Board of Trade, has done most to popularize what he calls the "New Socialism." It is "new" because it differs from the old State Socialism. In one of his numerous articles on the subject Mr. Graham says:

> The Public Corporation meets many of the objections to State Socialism, including mainly the objection to bureaucracy. It is not syndicalism. It effects a reconciliation with the interests of the State, or the community as a whole, in a manner not achieved by the guild organization. Recommended in its efficiency to the British masses, it may become the great highway to industrial peace, by uniting in public service all that is best in the individualist and collectivist faiths.

One cannot expect the Old Guard of State Socialism, men like Mr. Philip Snowden, for instance, to speak of the New Socialism in a way which suggests the repudiation of the Old Socialism. It is among the younger

Labour men, like Mr. Herbert Morrison, the Minister of Transport, and especially among the recent rich and middle-class adherents of the Labour Party that the words "Public Corporation" are pronounced *con amore*. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is in an exceptional position. Though a Socialist veteran, he has always been an agnostic regarding Socialism, and very reserved about State Socialism. He is, in truth, very much of a Conservative, and to my mind he welcomes the Public Corporation as an alternative to real Socialism. It will be found that the Public Corporation has friends among the Conservatives. Only the other day (July 22) in the House of Commons, Major Ralph Glyn urged a rapproachement between Britain and Soviet Russia on the ground that Stalin's recent speech showed a move from Communism to the system of Public Corporations which Britain has taught to the rest of the world! Major Ralph Glyn belongs to a great banking family, and he speaks for very intelligent and powerful people.

What is the Public Corporation? Fortunately for the purposes of our study, examples are to hand and they are constantly pointed to by Mr. William Graham and the New Socialists. First there is the British Broadcasting Corporation. This came into existence with the socialization of a private firm, the British Broadcasting Company, which had been formed some years earlier by manufacturers of wireless apparatus. Lord Gainford was the chairman of the private company and he has remained as the deputy-chairman of the Public Corporation, familiarly known as the B.B.C. The subscribed capital of the British Broadcasting Company was £70,000. On "socialization" the shareholders were guaranteed a fixed interest of 7 per cent. It has four "Governors": the Right Hon. J. H. Whitley, Chairman, with a salary of £3,000, Lord Gainford, Vice-Chairman, £1,000, Sir T. G. Nairne, Dr. M. J. Rendall and Mrs. Philip Snowden, £700 each. These correspond to a Board of Directors in the

ordinary commercial concern and deal with questions of general policy. The working head is Sir J. C. W. Reith, who has the title of Director-General and a salary of £6,000. The Governors are appointed by the State and have some responsibility to the Postmaster-General, who has to answer questions about the B.B.C. in Parliament. The bulk of the revenue is derived from wireless licence fees, which are shared between the Corporation, the Post Office and the Treasury.

As broadcasting is a monopoly, and most people will think properly so, the B.B.C. can hardly be taken as a model for the management of industry. The fact that it is a Public Corporation gives it more freedom than it would have as a State Department. What this means is that it is further removed from democratic control. The B.B.C. is virtually responsible to nobody as long as it does not conduct itself so flagrantly that public resentment forces cumbrous machinery against it. This freedom is necessary to avoid the nuisance of B.B.C. programmes becoming an issue in party politics, as might be the case if broadcasting were directly under a Minister responsible to Parliament. In the Protestant country that England is the Catholic minority have causes for grave complaint, and no means of remedy, against the B.B.C. I lay no stress on this, for it may be one of those cases where minorities must suffer. But when the B.B.C. is held up as a model because it is a Public Corporation, let it be noted that it is a monopoly, and in large degree a dictatorship.

The Electricity Commission, or rather the Central Electricity Board, is the next favoured example of a Public Corporation. The Commission exercises a general control over all electricity undertakings, while the Central Board is itself an electricity undertaking. It co-ordinates the generation of electricity in Britain and arranges for main line transmission. It does not generate the electricity, this is done by other undertakings, some of them

private companies and others public local authorities. Neither does it distribute current to the consumers. This also is done by private companies and public local authorities. The Central Board interposes as a monopolistic middleman between the generators and the retailers, so to speak, by buying the current generated and selling it to local suppliers. This is a sufficiently important function, for it will concentrate generation at a few selected stations and it requires the creation of main transmission lines over the whole country. The value of the contracts placed by the Board, from its establishment in 1926 to the end of April, 1931, amounted to approximately £19½ millions, in addition to spending £5¼ millions on standardization of frequency. The Board has raised loans from the public amounting to £16 millions, paying from 4½ to 5 per cent. interest. The security is ironclad, for the service on these loans is practically a first charge on the price of all the electricity controlled by the Board.

There are eight members of the Board, appointed by the Minister of Transport for periods of from five to ten years as determined at the time of appointment. It is a Public Corporation, non-profit-making, though interest-paying, carrying out a large industrial task. But be it noted that the electricity industry of Britain is far from being socialized. There are 665 separate authorized undertakers supplying current. The manufacture of electrical apparatus is entirely in private hands. The Report of the Electricity Commissioners for the year ending March 31, 1929, notes " the increasing favour with which the Industry has come to be regarded as an outlet for investment of capital." Even American capital has been attracted here by the prospects of private profit in an industry which is held up by the New Socialists as an example of the realization of their proposals. It was the Conservatives who set up the Central Electricity Board (1926), and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald frequently assured

them they were Socialists unawares. But the Conservatives think they knew quite well what they were doing.

The present Socialist Minister of Transport in England, Mr. H. Morrison, recently dwelt on the "socialistic" record of the Conservative Party. Mr. Morrison himself is responsible for the only piece of constructive legislation, the London Passenger Transport Act, that the Labour Government can colourably claim as a contribution to Socialism in our time. The Land Tax is also socialistic, but ranks as a fiscal, not a constructive measure. Mr. Morrison was answering a Conservative objection in the House of Commons that his Bill "nationalized" London passenger transport, and he said :—

> Really, does this come appropriately from the Conservative party? Who nationalized the telephones? The Tory Party did. It is true that they have been grumbling about getting the wrong number ever since, and, if they go on opposing sound Bills of this kind, they will get the wrong number at the next election. Who was it that made the water undertakings of London a public concern? It was the Tory Party. Who was it converted the British Broadcasting Company into a public corporation? It was the Tory party. Who was it that established the Central Electricity Board? It was the Tory party. Is the Tory party, in its desire for privilege, taking the position that it and it alone is entitled to introduce socialistic legislation? Is it their position that a Conservative Government may bring in socialistic legislation, but that, if a Socialist Government dares to do it, it shall be condemned by Parliament and by the country? We reject this monopoly of Socialism. We demand that even a minority Government in this House, Socialist Government as it is, shall also have its right to introduce its share of socialistic legislation.

The unification of London passenger transport has been taken up chiefly for the sake of co-ordination. Trains, buses and trams are at present owned by something like a score of different public authorities and private companies in what has become one continuous area as regards transport needs. It is estimated that within a radius of 15 miles from Charing Cross four thousand million passenger journeys are taken per annum. It is

alleged that competition between different transport undertakings is costly, and Mr. Morrison argued :—

> If competition involved a needless charge of only a farthing per passenger journey on the 4,000,000,000 journeys which must have been exceeded for all services in the London Traffic Area in 1930, that farthing per journey would aggregate over £4,000,000 in a year. If that sum should prove to be the price of competition, and if consolidation in time—and it would take time—would save it, that vast sum should be set aside for much-needed development, reductions in fares, or better working conditions.

The alleged needless costs of competition are often benefits enjoyed by the passengers. Mr. Morrison's figures might just as well be taken to show what enormous sums can be taken from the public by slight increases of fares or deprivations of facilities. The London Transport Passenger Act sets up a monopoly, and if there must be a monopoly it undoubtedly should be public and not private. Mr. Morrison rejected the old form of nationalization. He said :—

> I have come to the conclusion that the old idea of Departmental nationalization in the ordinary sense of the term is not the appropriate way for a great business undertaking of this kind. We ask ourselves whether this vast business task is necessarily appropriate for politicians with electoral minds at all, for politicians trying to win elections with concessions to electors upon questions of fares, wages and salaries. When we know how Members of this House are squeezed upon this subject at elections, and sometimes submit to the pressure, I began to think twice whether we want this undertaking to be run by the ordinary political mind along ordinary political lines. I say, quite frankly, I have come to the conclusion that, on the whole, a politician as such is better outside the function of management, unless he qualifies for membership as constituted in the Bill.

The authority will therefore be a board of five members appointed by the Government. Members can only be removed for " inability," and as they will be very highly-paid men they will be able to appeal to the Courts against wrongful dismissal. They are given a free hand to manage the huge passenger transport business of London, and it

will not be very inaccurate to call them dictators. Monopoly and dictatorship are always features of the New Socialism. Competition and democracy are the evils it abolishes!

The method of transferring property from the existing owners to the Board next calls for attention. As far as the principal private properties are concerned, the transfer is to be effected by exchange of stock, not by payment of cash. If the terms of exchange cannot be agreed, there is recourse to arbitration. The largest private undertaking, the Underground group of companies, has already reached an agreement with the Ministry of Transport for the exchange of stock. The new stocks to be issued are "A," "B" and "C." The first will carry interest in part at 5 per cent. and in part at 4½ per cent.; "B" stock will carry interest at 5 per cent.; "C" stock will be dependent on each year's earnings for its interest, the rate of interest not to exceed in each of the first two years 5 per cent., or thereafter 6 per cent. To show what these figures mean in terms of exchange of stock it is best to quote from an address of Lord Ashfield, Chairman of the Underground Group, to a meeting of his shareholders on May 1st:—

> For the past three years the holders of ordinary stocks of the four Underground Railway Companies have been receiving dividends at the rate of 5 per cent. When in place of every £100 of their present holdings, they have received £92 10s. in "C" stock of the board, they will, for the first two years, when the interest upon the "C" stock is limited to 5 per cent., receive a return at the rate of £4 12s. 6d. per cent. on their present capital. After two years they are to receive 5½ per cent. upon their holding of "C" stock, which means that their return upon their present capital would be £5 1s. 9d., and when, as we expect, the board pays out of its further income an additional one half of one per cent., making 6 per cent. in all, they will receive a return upon their present capital at the rate of £5 11s. per cent. At that time they will be at least one half of one per cent. better off than they are to-day.

It is estimated that the Underground Company should have at its disposal roundly £12,500,000 of " C " stock. Subject to the provision of any moneys which may be required for the winding-up and to enable the various arrangements to be carried through, it is thought that there should be sufficient " C " stock to permit every holder of ordinary shares in the Underground Company receiving £115 of " C " stock in exchange for every £100 in nominal value of ordinary shares held by him. The upshot of the arrangement is that the Underground shareholder, after two years, should receive not less than he does to-day, with an expectation of a further 1 per cent.

It may be explained that when Lord Ashfield speaks of the " Underground Company," he refers to a holding company controlling four operating underground companies as well as the London General Omnibus Company and many other concerns.

The points to be observed about the London Passenger Transport Scheme is that it sets up a monopoly carefully insulated against democratic control, and it gives to capital higher returns, secured by monopoly, than it is getting now while running the risks of competition. This sort of Socialism, or Public Corporation, might well have been designed by capitalists for capitalists. If it could be applied through the whole field of industry, we should unquestionably have a new economic order. But it can only be applied where monopoly can be enforced. This sets fairly narrow limits to its extension. I am not now discussing the merits and demerits of Public Corporations, but only envisaging whether they open a peaceful way to Socialism. I venture to say that they fail to remove the causes of antagonism between capital and labour and between producer and consumer, and they make the investing class far more of an idle parasitic class than it is in conditions of private enterprise. Opposition is already articulate, as witness the following statement recently made by Mr A. M. Wall, Secretary of the London Trades Council, and Mr. A. A.

Purcell, Secretary of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council :

The indications are that a decade of legislation under Labour Governments will give us a whole group of independent corporations of this type, administering railway and road transport, electricity supply, the cotton textile industry, the iron and steel industry, the mining industry, and probably others. Questions of wages and conditions of employment will be handled by these new bodies in exactly the same way as any powerfully organized capitalist-controlled industry handles them now . . . . We are frankly affrighted, as Socialists, at the prospect of having the number of State trusts multiplied by legislation in an unreformed Parliament without the precaution being taken to maintain real popular control over them in accord with our ideals of industrial democracy. As trade unionists we are appalled at the levity with which the Labour Government is legislating away the sovereignty of Parliament ; but we are still more alarmed at the indifference it shows toward the difficulties and dangers in which trade unions will be involved when they have to negotiate with these public corporations (or State trusts, as we think they should be called) on questions of wages and conditions of employment. Industrial conflict, more embittered and on a far bigger scale, with the scales weighted against the workers, may be predicted with absolute certainty if industrial reorganization proceeds on these lines and no provision is made for associating the unions integrally with policy and administration in the State trusts.

Personally I think that the application of the Public Corporation idea to natural monopolies like broadcasting and electricity, and even London passenger transport, establishes no precedent for industries like textiles, iron and steel, and coal-mining which must compete in world markets. All forms of inland transport may conceivably be monopolized by a Public Corporation, if the users of transport would permit such a development—but, as Messrs. Wall and Purcell point out, without lessening the dangers of industrial war. It should not be long before the Socialists, who have abandoned faith in guilds and state administration, lose also their new-found hopes in Public Corporations.

H. SOMERVILLE.

BEGINNINGS OF LATIN CULTURE IN IRELAND

BY EOIN MACNEILL, D.LITT.

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Part II.[1]

THE earliest works in Latin that I find ascribed to Irish writers are three tracts bearing on the subject of the Paschal computus, described in some detail by Dr. MacCarthy in his Introduction to the Annals of Ulster, vol. iv. pp. cxv. seqq. All three are fabrications: the fabricated "Acts of the Council of Caesarea," the fabricated "Tractate of Athanasius," and the fabricated "Book of Anatolius." MacCarthy dates them respectively in 508, 546, and 556. Intent on certain aspects of these writings, he does not seem to perceive how much is involved in his account of them. Apart from them, the "Irish Paschal controversy" is first in evidence at the very end of the century, more than a generation later than the last of the three fabricated works, when St. Columbanus found himself at variance with the Gallic bishops, his Easter being celebrated at a different time from theirs. It is noteworthy that the spurious "Book of Anatolius" was accepted as genuine by St. Columbanus in 600, by the disputants at the Whitby conference in 664, and later by the Venerable Bede. The fabrications were written in favour of a certain method of computing the calendar and in opposition to another method or other methods. They are related to each other, and of the third MacCarthy says: "For textual distortion, resourceful invention, and vituperative scorn, the spurious Anatolius stood peerless in the field of fabrication." The computus which they advocate was apparently that which was afterwards universally accepted in Ireland until the synod of Magh Lena in 629 or 630.

[1] For Part 1 see March issue.

Against what rival, then, were these forged productions directed? Their purpose should have been either to supplant a computus already in use by the one which they favoured or to maintain this one in opposition to another which was proposed to be introduced in its place. In other words, if we accept MacCarthy's account of them, including his deduction that they were composed in Ireland, it should follow that as early as 508 there was already a Paschal controversy in Ireland which lasted over half a century and then died out. This aspect of the case made by Dr. MacCarthy appears to have escaped his own perception. As often happens when scholarly men deal with ancient documents from a single academical standpoint, the historical setting and circumstances are ignored. If these three fabrications were produced in Ireland in 508, 546, and 556, they are the first known Irish products of Latin learning. Being fabrications and in the case of one at least of them quite successful for their purpose, care was presumably taken to base them on authentic models. The models should not be beyond discovery. If such literary inventions were found in a country like Gaul or Spain, when Latin culture had flourished for centuries, they would still be of piquant interest. In the Ireland of their time, they are the only known products, the only signs of Latin culture beyond the minimum that a missionary Church required. Portents they are, rather than signs, if we can accept the account of them, which would presumably have attracted due attention were it not embedded in a mass of desiccated learning that repels any but the most resolute and patient readers. Did a new Paschal computus replace an earlier one in Ireland about the time of these documents?

The difficulty of supposing a controversy, of which there is no other evidence, to have existed in Ireland at that time, is a problem in itself. Quite apart from that difficulty, an Irish authorship of the documents or of any of them, in that period, appears in the highest degree

improbable. Such works of "resourceful invention" may be expected in the surroundings of a well developed or a decadent culture. The falsified Acts of a Council of the Church, a treatise passed off in the name of the great St. Athanasius, an elaborate fabrication attributed to a notable man of learning in the East—one should as readily expect them from a society of undergraduates in our own time as from any growth of Latin learning known to have existed in Ireland within the time indicated. That, however, is the time in which the beginnings of the Latin culture-influence of the Welsh monasteries can be traced in Ireland—probably not alone the influence of the monasteries, but associated with it the influence of what remained of Latin classical culture in Britain. A generation or so earlier, as Gildas relates, a frightful wave of destruction had swept across the defenceless lands of Roman British from sea to sea. Of the extent of this catastrophe it is certain that the lurid declamation of Gildas presents all too faint a picture. Nothing comparable is recorded of the Huns under Attila or of the Vandals under Genseric. The cities of Roman Britain sank in smoke and blood and ruins. These cities had their Latin schools and their professors proud of the classical tradition, the lordly classicists, *dominicati rhetorici*, of St. Patrick's Confession. Where must we suppose all that escaped of that Latin culture, both men and writings, to have found refuge?

The fabricated documents suggest another glimpse of the history of that time. We read in modern books about "the *Irish* Paschal controversy," and in ancient writings the brunt of the controversy in Britain as well as in Ireland is seen to be borne by Irishmen. It may not have been altogether a penance for them. Their missionary enterprise brought them into lands where their venerated traditions were not those of the constituted ecclesiastical authorities and so must either be validly defended or abandoned. Yet throughout the controversy in Ireland

and in Britain, the impugned Paschal custom is declared to be British as well as Irish. It is so declared to be in an epistle, of which only the opening paragraph is given by Bede, addressed in 605 to the bishops and abbots of Ireland by the three bishops of the Saxons in England, Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, who had come from Rome. This letter produced no effect in Ireland that Bede found worthy to record. To the Irish prelates it may well have borne a semblance of unwarranted assumption of authority. Laurentius had just succeeded Augustine in the see of Canterbury. Augustine, a short time before his death, had given grave offence to the British bishops when they met him in council, and their resentment must have spread in some degree to Ireland; for the letter aforesaid complains that the Irish bishop Dagan, though he came to visit the bishops of the Saxons, refused to take food at the same table or under the same roof with them.

Bede gives curious particulars regarding the jurisdiction conferred on Augustine by the Pope, St. Gregory the Great. First he quotes a list of questions addressed by Augustine to the Pope, "desiring his solution of certain doubts," each question being followed by the Pope's reply. Bede does not profess to quote the questions and answers from any document. The seventh question is: "How are we to deal with the bishops of France and Britain?" We may note that the country called by its very new name Francia in this question and in the answer to it is called Gallia in the answer to the preceding question. The Pope is reported as replying: "We give you no authority over the bishops of France (!) . . . . But as for all the bishops of Britain, we commit them to your care, that the unlearned may be taught, the weak strengthened by persuasion, and the perverse corrected by authority." With the messengers who brought these answers, the Pope *also sent a letter*, which Bede quotes in full, addressed and ended in the customary formulae.

May it be inferred that Bede's authority for the questions and answers was based on oral report? The letter authorises the creation of new bishoprics, among them one in London and one in York, within the territories of the Saxons and Angles, and expressly ordains that, after the death of Augustine, the bishop of York is to be in no way subject to the bishop of London. To Augustine, however, [*i.e.*, evidently to him personally during his lifetime], are to be subject all bishops ordained by the bishop of York and also all the priests in Britain." All this, with an express preceding reference to "the new Church of the English."

These communications evidently do not amount to a reconstitution of the existing Church of Britain under the superior jurisdiction of Augustine. It may be taken as certain that Bede knew nothing of any ordinance to that effect having been sent to the British bishops, of whom at that time there were at least seven. He gives a brief account of the council in which Augustine met the British bishops, but he does not say that Augustine made any express claim to jurisdiction or authority over them. When the bishops came into the presence of Augustine he remained seated. Bede professes to treat this as a mere matter of courtesy or ceremony. It was this indeed; but to the bishops it meant much more, it amounted in Celtic custom to a formal claim to superior jurisdiction, and apart from Celtic custom it implied no less. When Bede says that the bishops were angered and charged Augustine with pride, there can be little doubt that he understates the form and effect of their protest. When he adds that they endeavoured to contradict all that Augustine said to them, we may well understand that they tenaciously refused to accept any statement from Augustine as from a superior authority. We feel that Bede makes the position a little clearer, but not so clear as it should have been made, when he avows at last that the British bishops refused to receive

Augustine as their archbishop. The answer which he attributes to Augustine by no means indicates that the bishops could justly be charged with resistance to lawful ecclesiastical authority. Instead of standing upon his own authority or upon that of the Holy See, if we are to believe Bede, Augustine, in a threatening manner, foretold that the bishops or rather their people would be punished by war and deadly vengeance—a prophecy which, like many others of the kind, is likely to have been thought of after the event.

The punishment of the British bishops, we are asked to believe, took this form, that about twelve hundred British priests and monks were massacred a short time afterwards at Chester by Ethelfrid, the Heathen king of Northumbria. In an earlier chapter, however, Bede had already vaunted the victories of this "most worthy king" over British Christians. "He ravaged the Britons more than all the great men of the Angles . . . . He conquered more territories from the Britons, either making them tributary or driving the inhabitants clean out and planting [Heathen] Angles in their places, than any other king or tribune." Bede had quite a friendly feeling towards the Irish, but towards the Britons he was wholly unfriendly. While he glories in the ravage and extermination inflicted on them by Heathens of his own folk, he repeatedly reproaches them with acting in an unchristian spirit of aloofness towards the Angles and Saxons. His account of the conference between St. Augustine and the British bishops may help to explain why an Irish bishop, a few years later, was willing to visit the successor of St. Augustine, but was not willing to "come into his house;" also why no reply from the Irish bishops and abbots to the epistle of Laurentius, Mellitus, and Justus, came to the knowledge of Bede.

It is much to be feared that in this controversy the Britons were rather harshly approached. So much of the epistle of Laurentius to the Irish prelates as is quoted by

Bede opens courteously enough, but soon goes on to intimate that the Irish have a better reputation than they deserve. Bede records that an epistle on the same subject was addressed by Laurentius and his fellow-bishops to the British clergy. He does not quote it, but he describes it by a rather significant phrase—it was " suitable to the rank " of Laurentius. He adds contemptuously : " What Laurentius gained by it the present times declare."

In Ireland, the first recorded battle of the Paschal controversy is the Synod of Magh Lena in 629 or 630. Cummian, who took the leading part in the Synod, writes two years later to Segene, Abbot of Iona. " Which," he asks, " is the recalcitrant party, the Hebrews, Greeks, Latins, and Egyptians, joined together in observance of the principal solemnities, or the little fraction of *the Britons* and the Irish on the outer edge of the habitable world ? " And again, " what worse sentiment could be held of Mother Church than if we were to say : Rome errs, Jerusalem errs, Alexandria errs, the whole world errs ; only the Irish and *the Britons* take the right view ? " Later, at the Whitby Conference in 664, Wilfrid is reported by Bede to have said : " The Easter which we observe . . . . we have found practised . . . . by all the world . . . . except only these [the Columban monks] and their accomplices in obstinacy, the Picts and the Britons." Forty years later, apparently through the influence of Adamnan, as Bede relates, " a great part of the Scots in Ireland and *some* also of the Britons in Britain conformed to the proper and ecclesiastical time of keeping Easter." In 716 Iona adopted the Catholic Easter, and the Irish part in the controversy came to an end. Yet after this, Bede says, writing of his own time, " the Britons now continue inveterate in their errors . . . and keep the solemnity of Christ [the Easter festival] not in company with the Church."

We see how misleading it is to regard the matter of the Paschal controversy as having been peculiarly or mainly concerned with the Irish Church, a complexion

which it has taken in many modern writings. The cause of the illusion is the extraordinary dearth of records for the British Church and for the Britons generally in the centuries following the end of Roman rule. This dearth, which has facilitated more than one distortion of history, may be regarded as one feature of the degradation inflicted on a brave and gifted people by the much vaunted Pax Romana. The inheritance of an imported and eagerly adopted Latin culture did not save the Britons from an obscurity beside which the record of the unlettered Heathens who invaded them appears luminous. Of three centuries of the British Church, Bede is either unable or unwilling to tell anything except a reiteration of reproaches. Of the part played by the Britons in the development of monastic institutions and the preservation of Latin learning, in which respects he was their offspring, he has not a word to say, not a name to mention.

The use of the term "Celtic" in application to the history of religion and culture at this period, while it has a convenience, has a tendency to mislead and obscure. If the Churches of Ireland, northern and western Britain, and Brittany, developed certain distinctive features, it was not because of Celtic origins or of any sense howsoever faint of Celtic kinship, but because they were isolated and held together by the pressure of Germanic invasion. "The Celtic Easter" is a phrase that clouds the facts. Patricius, Secundinus, Auxilius, and Iserninus, established in the Irish Church an Easter computus which they brought from Auxerre, not from Britain. Rather it is probable that Patricius brought a paschal table, of which copies could be supplied to every church, regulating the ecclesiastical calendar for a cycle of 84 years. The cycle should have begun at latest in 432 and ended in 515, but it might well have begun and ended some years earlier. As its end approaches, the question of the future regulation of the calendar must have arisen. To the year 508 is traced the first attempt to set up a locally determined

calendar for the churches of Ireland *or of Britain*, and this first attempt is an imposture. It apparently does not succeed, and a generation or so later it is followed by two other elaborate fabrications of the same school and to the same intent. One of these becomes a prime authority for the paschal computus. The period is that of maximum isolation. It is also that of the establishment of the British-Latin culture influence in Ireland, associated with the great development of monasticism. In Ireland at this time, there is neither visible background nor visible environment congenial to the production of a series of ingenious and daring fabrications in Latin. The western parts of Britain, South Wales in particular, became a refuge for the broken and somewhat decadent remnants of the Latin culture of the ruined cities. If modern writers had not brought themselves to think of the Paschal controversy as concerning mainly the Irish Church and its offshoots, they might at least have considered the question whether these curious beginnings of the controversy were not much more likely to have germinated in the debris of Roman Britain.

This series of fabricated documents does not stand altogether alone. It cannot be dissociated from another phenomenon of Latin cultural decadence of the same period, the products that cluster around the *Hisperica Famina*. The results of many studies of this luxuriant culture-fungus of decay are summed up in their historical aspect by Dr. Kenney [1]:—

> It seems probable that there arose *in Ireland in the fifth and sixth centuries* a literary society which perpetuated for a time the Latin and Greek learning of Gaul in the last years of the Roman Empire, and that the Hisperic texts represent *one of the lines of activity* of that society. They may be the oldest writings of Irish provenance extant, with the exception of the compositions of Patricius. They appear to be *of Christian origin*, but are so *secular in tone* that they should not be ascribed to those monastic institutions which were introduced into Ireland in the fourth or

[1] *Sources for the Early History of Ireland.* I 257.

fifth century, and in the sixth achieved such an extraordinary development. With more probability may they be assigned to that society of letters, whatever it was, which produced the rhetoricians who scorned the rustic speech of Patricius.

St. Patrick's word *rhetorici* does not mean "rhetoricians," it means Latin classicists. That any such literary society existed in Ireland in the fifth and sixth centuries is a sheer improbability. That it existed in Britain during the decadence of Roman culture is in the natural course of things, and the almost total loss or absence of historical records of the Britons for that period does not constitute a reason for doubting it. The scorners of St. Patrick were his own compatriots. To them alone he addresses the passionate remonstrance, "Invidetur mihi. Quid faciam, Domine? Valde despicior!"

The *rhetorici* who pretended to look down with scorn on St. Patrick's "rusticity" were the disciples of the *rhetores*, professional teachers of classical and elegant Latin. How the rhetors plied their profession in the cities of the Western Empire may be learned in some detail from the Confessions of St. Augustine, who had been one of them. The destruction of the cities of Britain and the exposure of the eastern and southern regions of the island to Germanic raiders must have caused a kind of congestion of such academic worthies in the western parts where Irish aggression had ceased and where the Britons, under their new *tyranni*, had learned to defend themselves or, like Coroticus, had become aggressors. Gildas looks back to a lengthy period of security and degeneracy under these conditions. There, and not in Ireland of that time, we may recognise the fitting environment of the decadent Latin culture exemplified in the *Hisperica Famina*. The principal text begins with a "glorification of the rhetors or *sophiae arcatores* and their school, and of the speaker himself"—thus evidently a rhetor—"as a match for any of his contemporaries . . . . The superiority of the speaker's Latin is illustrated by

similes." The school is described. At mid-day the scholars go out for "a walk and a meal provided by the *possessores*, who have to be addressed in Irish, about which there is some difficulty, as the scholars may only talk Latin: sunset; another meal, apparently provided by inhabitants of THE TOWN; then the scholars turn in, some to sleep and others to sit up."[1]

With reference to the Irish-speaking inhabitants, Dr. Kenney remarks: "Perhaps part of southern Wales was Goidelic-speaking in the fifth and sixth centuries." "Goidelic" may seem to echo the exploded theories of Sir John Rhys. There is abundant evidence of Irish settlements, chiefly in southern Wales, but also in other parts of Wales and in Devonshire; and for the period in question the use of the Irish language is attested by Ogham inscriptions, also by distinctively Irish personal names in Latin inscriptions. Sommerfelt has shown that a custom of counting in Irish numerals derived from that early period still survives locally in southern Wales.[2] In three parts of the *Hisperica Famina* there is mention of Irish inhabitants, *Scottigeni*. This is far indeed from proving that the author was himself Irish or that the country in which he wrote was Ireland, for in such a case we might expect the *Scottigeni* to be taken for granted. Other evidence of rhetors with their schools and pupils in Ireland is not known to exist. Traces, indeed, of the Hisperic eccentricity have been recognised in the Latin of a number of Irish writers, but by no means to such an extent as to point to Ireland as a home, or to any place in Ireland as a centre, of that fantastic cult.

Special study, comprehensive and minute, of the early Latin writings by Irish authors is still to be desired. With some reserve, therefore, I express the view that among the earliest Irish writers whose Latin exhibits a basis of classical culture is St. Columbanus. With regard to his

[1] Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, I. 256.

[2] Norsk Videlskapf Akademi (Oslo), Histor. Philol. Klasse, 1925.

poems Dr. Kenney, who may be trusted for his summarising of modern criticism, says that the literary excellence which they display is remarkable for their time. He attributes to them "remarkable skill in language, purity of style, and versatility of ideas." On the other hand, according to the same judicious authority, "the prose writings of Columbanus are characterised, as might be expected from their subject-matter, by considerable rhetorical vigour, but not in especial degree by grace of style. The language in the main is the customary ecclesiastical Latin of the early middle ages, but there are some evidences of more classical influences."[1] Without any pretence to critical authority, and merely as one who has read not a little of that early medieval Latin, I have formed a much higher opinion of the prose of Columbanus than is expressed in the foregoing judgment. Columbanus belonged to the second generation of the great monastic development in Ireland, and the degree and kind of Latin culture which he represents cannot be traced farther back in Ireland than the generation before him. In the transmission of that culture my argument seeks to establish the following stages: (1) Destruction of the Roman cities of Britain during the fifth century; (2) Consequent concentration of the remnants of Latin culture in Wales; (3) Monastic developments in Wales, associated with Latin learning; (4) Consequent development of monasticism, associated with Latin learning, in Ireland. The third and fourth of these stages are, for the first time, explained in detail in Chapter III of Father John Ryan's *Irish Monasticism*. I think it likely that, along with the cultivation of the Latin language, the transmission of manuscripts of the Latin classics followed the line indicated in these four stages.

Eoin MacNeill.

[1] op. cit., p. 190.

PATRICK LYNCH, SCHOOLMASTER 1754-1818

BY P. J. DOWLING, M.A., PH.D.

THE Penal Code introduced in the reign of William III. and elaborated and extended during subsequent reigns rendered impossible the organisation of Catholic education in the eighteenth century. Catholics who sent their children abroad to France or Spain for instruction could be deprived by law of their possessions. The schoolmaster at home was liable to three months' imprisonment and a fine of £20; he might be banished; and, if after banishment he returned to Ireland, the death penalty awaited him; there was a reward of £10 for his arrest and a reward of £10 for information against anyone harbouring him. All avenues to education were closed to the Catholic. "The legislation on the subject of Catholic education," wrote Lecky, "may be briefly described, for it amounted simply to universal, unlimited and unqualified proscription."

During the first half of the eighteenth century the laws against education were executed with vigour; with the result that whatever there was of education was essentially of a surreptitious nature. A new type of school came into existence. This was the *Hedge School;* which was held in the open air on the sheltered side of a sunny hedge or bank, and had the great merit of being quickly dismissed at the first warning of danger without leaving any evidence. Later when the laws against education were somewhat relaxed, instruction was given in a house, a barn or any building that the schoolmaster could get; but the name *Hedge School* was still retained. Indeed the *Hedge Schools* continued to give instruction to the great bulk of the people till well after the estab-

lishment of the National System of Education in 1831. "Receptacles of rags and penury," Gordon, a leading supporter of the Bible Societies, called them, "in which a semi-barbarous peasantry acquired the rudiments of reading, writing, Irish history and high treason." And so they might have appeared to him. But what was wanting to them in appearance was admirably compensated for by the work they accomplished. They had succeeded in keeping the field in spite of the laws against religion and education, in spite of poverty and of the oppression of landlords, in spite of the lack of every form of encouragement and patronage, and in spite of determined opposition and gross vilification from the Bible Societies which were morally supported and in some cases handsomely financed by the existing government. The secret of the success of the *Hedge Schools* lay in the fact that schoolmaster and parent co-operated in the work of education. A description of a school of the poorer class given by Lord Palmerstown in 1808 will suffice as illustration: "The people join in engaging some itinerant master; they run him up a miserable mud hut on the road side, and the boys pay him half-a-crown or some five shillings a quarter. They are taught reading, writing and arithmetic, and what, from the appearance of the establishment, no one would imagine, Latin and even Greek."

The schoolmaster held a unique position; he was the letter-writer, the lawyer and general counsellor of his little community. "Next to the lord of the manor, the parson and the priest," wrote Crofton Croker, "he is the most important personage in the parish." Though himself one of the people, his prestige was assured on account of his superior knowledge and his love of learning. Knowledge was not easily acquired in these days. It often happened that the young schoolmaster had to travel on foot more than a hundred miles to attend a Hedge School which had achieved a reputation that was almost national,

and there in the capacity of a "poor scholar" he received instruction free and all that he needed in the way of bed and board. After studying for a year or two he returned to his native place and set up a school.

The curriculum of the *Hedge Schools* varied considerably; in some cases, only reading, writing and arithmetic were taught, in others Latin, Greek and Mathematics. The standard of the work done in the *Hedge Schools* has often been questioned, but it is possible to come upon evidence which should delay our judgment. For example, when Dr. Hincks, principal of the Academical Institution, Belfast, was questioned before a Select Committee of Inquiry into Education in Ireland in 1837, he stated: "I have known instances of very considerable advance in science, especially in mathematics, in the very lowest schools. I have known persons procuring scientific books, and apparently able to make use of them, who were in very great poverty, in the south of Ireland especially." Further, many of the schoolmasters were distinguished men: Nunan was one of the best classical teachers in Munster, MacNamara the Irish poet wrote Latin verse, O'Connell compiled an Irish dictionary which was never printed, Paul Deighan was author of a geography of Ireland; and so on. Education at this period seems to have had in it the elements of progress and achievement, and its history is largely the story of the *Hedge School*. Town schools proved attractive to many able teachers; though Carleton regarded them as inferior to country schools. The work in them must have been at least as good; and the prospects were far better. Patrick Lynch, one of the most promising pupils of the *Hedge Schools*, became later proprietor and teacher of an "academy" in Dublin. His life and work prove sufficiently the value of a *Hedge School* education.

Lynch's career was remarkable in many respects. On the basis of an education received in a country school, he achieved, in more than one branch of study, a degree

of scholarship that accorded him the notice of many learned contemporaries; he was extraordinarily industrious, publishing during his lifetime several works distinguished for their erudition; he taught, as he himself informs us in 1817, for thirty-nine years "in the various departments of Private Tutor, Assistant and Proprietor of a school."

The first consecutive account of his life is given in Warburton's History of Dublin. The information contained in it was probably given by Lynch himself to the Rev. Robert Walsh, one of the compilers of the history, who knew Lynch personally.

Lynch was born at Quin, Co. Clare, in 1754. He received his early education at a school near Ennis conducted by Donough O'Mahony, a teacher who knew no English, but who taught Latin, Greek and Hebrew through the medium of Irish. This school was probably at Ennistymon; for Thomas Meehan, the Clare poet, refers to Donough as "the Star of Ennistymon." Lynch acquired, according to Walsh, "an excellent knowledge of Greek, Latin and Hebrew"; and, no doubt, he secured a sound grammatical knowledge of Irish, a language which he spoke from childhood.

Owing to family misfortunes, he was compelled to return home and take up farming. Walsh states that, after five years of this, he became private tutor to the Butlers of Galmoy, Co. Kilkenny. But we have evidence to prove that this is not so. We learn from Lynch himself that he was "educated for five or six years under the Rev. Mr. Hare at Cashel." But here he was rather in the capacity of usher or assistant than of actual pupil, because he was at the Rev. Patrick Hare's school during the years 1774 to 1778. This would agree with Lynch's own statement that he began his career as teacher in 1778.

After some years as private tutor, we find him in charge of a school at Carrick-on-Suir and supporting the

widow and orphans of his predecessor. In this little town he published his first book. "He had written a Chronoscope," Walsh tells us, "but had no means of publishing it. In concert with a barber of the town he procured some types, and by means of a bellows press he set and printed his first work with his own hands, and established the first printing press ever seen in that town." There are notices of Lynch's school at Carrick-on-Suir in "Finn's Leinster Journal," August 1793 and July 1795.

In 1808, Lynch was in Dublin, conducting "a Classical and Mercantile School at No. 30 Lower Ormond Quay." About this time he became a member of the Gaelic Society and was appointed Secretary in 1815.[1]

After forty years of teaching, study, writing, research, he died in 1818 at the age of 64. The following notice appeared in "Carrick's Morning Post" May 13, 1818 :—

DIED

On the 10th instant, sincerely lamented by a numerous circle of literary acquaintances, Mr. Patrick Lynch in the sixty-fourth year of his age. He has given ample proofs, by many useful and erudite publications, of his being excellently skilled in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and he certainly was the best Critical Irish Scholar of the age, and as such his Correspondence was counted by the Gaelic Society of Scotland. His great pleasure was, gratuitously, to assist every learned undertaking, and as such his loss will be deplored and severely felt by Gentlemen engaged in the different branches of literature, and by none more than those of the Record Commission in the Castle Yard.

Fortunately he has left us many works that are indisputable proofs of his scholarship and industry. One of his earliest publications was "The Pentaglot Preceptor: or elementary institutes of the English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Irish Languages. Vol. 1, containing a complete grammar of the English Tongue. For the

[1] The Gaelic Society was a body set up with the object of studying the Irish language, preserving Irish manuscripts, translating them, and issuing them in published form.

use of schools and particularly calculated for the Instruction of such Ladies and Gentlemen as may wish to learn without the help of a Master," issued at Carrick in 1796. On the back of the title-page the author announces that the remaining four volumes will be published with "all convenient speed," and that "to each volume will be prefixed the approbation of some learned members of both Colleges, with the subscribers' names, and preliminary essays on the analogy of languages." The work begins with "A Preliminary Discourse addressed to the Schoolmasters of Ireland," in which he reviews the best known English Grammars of his day, and criticises the methods of Grammarians generally. In these connections, he mentions, among others, the names of such authorities as Brightland, Claude Lancelot and Le Maître de Sacy (Port Royal), Sheridan, Watts, Greenwood, Dr. Johnson, Dr. Lowth, Murray and Ussher. The Definitions and Rules are given in rhyming couplets; declensions, conjugations, etc. are set out in the ordinary way; while throughout the book, notes illustrated with examples are given below the text, taking up the greater part of each page. The subject matter is divided into chapters on Etymology, Syntax, Orthography and Prosody.

In 1805 a work on English Grammar appeared, entitled "A plain, Easy and Comprehensive Grammar of the English Tongue, in which the Definitions and Rules necessary to be committed to Memory are composed in Familiar Verse with a Preliminary Essay, containing, among many other useful Observations on the Theory, Structure and Analogy of Languages in general, A Critical Review of the most celebrated English Grammars hitherto published." This was also issued from the press at Carrick. It is of interest to note that on the title page of the book is written "By Patrick Lynch, Schoolmaster," while his later books indicate the author as "Patrick Lynch, Esq., Secretary to Gaelic Society," thus emphasising the increased social status given by his appointment

This little volume is but another edition of Vol. I. of "The Pentaglot Preceptor," the remaining volumes of which he did not publish as he had intended. He evidently condensed the material he had originally prepared; for he issued in 1817, two years after he had become Secretary to the Gaelic Society, a work under the title of "The Classical Students' Metrical Mnemonics, containing in Familiar Verse, all the necessary Definitions and Rules of the English, Latin, Greek and Hebrew Languages." It had an introduction of twelve pages under the title: "A Preliminary Discourse, addressed to the learned and ever-respected schoolmasters of Ireland," in which the author defends the use of rhyme as an aid to memory, supporting his arguments on historical grounds. There is also here "A Critical Review of English Grammars."

With the exception of the introduction, the work, consisting of 104 pages, is written entirely in verse. Part I deals with English Grammar; Part II with Latin; Parts III and IV respectively with Greek and Hebrew. Each grammar is complete in itself. The writer spared no pains to produce a satisfactory text book.

The following examples, taken at random, will serve to illustrate the nature and enormity of the task which Lynch set himself; the first is taken from the section on English Grammar, the second from the part devoted to Latin Grammar:—

ON SUBSTANTIVES AND THEIR ACCIDENTS

As all nouns by which we things express,
Are unconfin'd; so nouns are numberless.
A twofold distribution nouns embrace,
Th' appelative and proper class to trace.
All common names th' appelative implies:
As Kingdom, City, King, House, Honey, Pies.
All individual names we proper call;
As John, George, Mary, Waterford, Whitehall.

PREPOSITIONS WITH AN ACCUSATIVE

These preposites th' accusative prefer,
Adversus, ante, apud, erga, per,
Cis, circa, circum, citra, contra, ad,
With juxta, extra, and adversum had
Ob, infra, inter, intra, propter, post,
And penes, pone, preter, trans engrossed.
Secundum, secus, supra, ultra, too
And in for into, towards, against or through.

Lynch published a grammar of the Irish language in 1815. The title of the book gives an accurate description of the scope of the work: "Introduction to the Knowledge of the Irish Language as now spoken; containing A Comprehensive Exemplification of the Alphabetic Sounds, and a complete analysis of the declinable Parts with the pronunciation of each Irish word employed in Illustration as far as could be effected by the substitution of English Characters Systematically arranged and Methodically disposed in fourteen short Synoptic Tables." This grammar is the work of a practical teacher; it ranks easily with modern works on Irish grammar of equal scope. "It answers the purpose for which it was intended," wrote Scurry in 1827, "and will be found useful to persons not capable of speaking the language when learning it."

The year 1817 saw the publication of another work: "An Easy Introduction to Practical Astronomy and the Use of the Globes; including in Mnemonic Verses and Rhyming Couplets, as the most Effectual Means hitherto invented for Assisting the Memory, the necessary Axioms, Definitions and Rules of Chronology, Geometry, Algebra and Trigonometry, with the Prognostics of the Weather, Etc., Etc. For the Use of Schools and Young Ladies." The foreword is addressed to the "Venerable and Learned Instructors of the Rising Generation." The author refers readers and students, with the requisite knowledge of Mathematics, to the works of Gregory, Newton,

Lalande, Vince and Brinkley, stating that his own production is but an introduction to theirs, though containing more knowledge of astronomy than was ever before compressed into an equal number of pages. There are 246 pages in all.

As a text book, it seems to be a reliable and useful work; it supplies the necessary mathematical foundation for a study of elementary astronomy; it gives numerous problems on astronomy, and adds the answers. The subject is treated historically; the views and theories of the ancient and modern astronomers are critically reviewed. The opinions of no less than forty writers on astronomy are cited, of whom twelve lived before Christ. Lynch brings to his subject a wide knowledge of its history and development, but he does not lose sight of the principal aim of his work, namely, to provide an elementary, practical treatise on Astronomy.

A third important work was published in 1817; the title of which read as follows:—"A Geographical and Statistical Survey of the Terraqueous Globe, including a Comprehensive Comprend of the History, Antiquities and Topography of Ireland. Embellished with a Curious Map of Eire. For the use of Schools and Adult Persons." The book consists of 340 pages, the first 190 being given to Geography, the remainder to History.

It is an ambitious work and aims at being exhaustive. The subject of Geography is treated scientifically, while the history of geographical discovery and the theories of geographers, ancient and modern, are given and discussed. The section devoted to Geography is divided into three books: Book I deals with "Definitions, Subdivisions, etc.," and includes, among other important matters, the construction and use of maps; Book II, treating of the "Natural Divisions of the Earth," provides in a series of synoptic tables a mine of information on geographical topics; it contains also Ptolemy's interesting description of Ireland translated from the

Greek by the author himself; Book III is mainly concerned with the geography of the British Isles.

It is evident that Lynch was biased in favour of statistical geography. His industry in compiling his synoptic tables is evidence of this; further he emphasises the value of Political Arithmetic, and points out its neglect in his day. It is important to note how nearly he approaches modern ideas in education, for he throws some of the onus of the study of Geography on students of his text books, indicating the value on their part of reasoning, judgment and research.

The second part of the volume, beginning with Book IV, gives the histories of the great civilisations, followed by European History. After that, begins the history of Ireland from the earliest times, with a Statistical Survey of Ireland running beneath, but having no reference to the text above. The Statistical Survey is sometimes interrupted with such notes as he thinks necessary to explain or expand the context of his history.

Since Lynch was at this time engaged on a continuation of Keating's History of Ireland from original MSS., new light might have been expected on the subject; but, though the earlier portion of the history is informative and carefully done, the treatment of the material shows little originality. The later portion has little that is new, but there is every indication that the author was well acquainted with all the standard works of reference. The Statistical Survey of Ireland is sound though rather too brief for such a wide range: it has, however, an air of originality and thoroughness that is lacking in previous works of a similar nature. Lynch wrote a Life of Saint Patrick in which he put forward unassailable proofs of the existence of the saint and answers the arguments of the sceptics of his day. He also published a Life of St. Columbcille. He edited Alvary's Latin Prosody and published an improved edition of Wettenhall's Greek Prosody. He also edited

Grant's and Lady's Almanacks for a well known Dublin publisher named Wogan.

A list of his works is given on the back of the title-page of his "Introduction to the Knowledge of the Irish Language." On the same page it is announced that "A Biographical and Historical Dictionary of Illustrious Irish Characters" is in course of preparation and will be sold at £1 2s. 9d.; and further it says that "Mr. Lynch continues to prepare, copy and correct for the Press, and also to give instructions to such as wish for a practical knowledge of the Irish language according to the pure dialect used in Thomond, of which he is a native." This last statement is interesting, whichever way we look at it: either as a proof of Lynch's extraordinary industry or as evidence of the inadequate return for his labours.

Contemporary references to Lynch's works seem to be few—at least they are difficult to come by. But it is possible to estimate the merits of his writings on other grounds. The fact that he was appointed secretary of the Gaelic Society is clear evidence that Lynch's reputation as an Irish scholar had already been established. He was one of the first to engage on the very important task of investigating the Records of Ireland in Dublin Castle. Here an extensive knowledge of the Irish language was essential. The Rev. Robert Walsh, as we have seen, has given him a niche in Warburton's History of Dublin; he was also one of the subscribers to the Pentaglot Preceptor. Christopher Anderson, writer and educationist, who spent some years in Ireland studying the problem of distributing copies of the Bible in Irish throughout the Irish-speaking districts, knew Lynch personally and held him up as an example of the possibilities of Irish youth. The Rev. Dr. Ledwich, the antiquarian, who might have had occasion to cross swords with Lynch on the question of the existence of St. Patrick, offered, after Lynch's death, to edit free of charge Lynch's unpublished works.

These references are more nearly concerned with the man than with his works, but it must be remembered that it was by his works that Lynch was raised from the obscurity of Carrick-on-Suir to shine in a learned Society in Dublin—a Society that devoted itself to the study of Irish Literature and Antiquities. It is curious to note, also, that Lynch's first work was not published till he was in the prime of life and that most of his more important works were not issued from the press until he was over sixty years of age. He had, therefore, given nearly a life-time of study to the subjects upon which he wrote. It accounts, to a great extent, for the extraordinary amount of scholarship that his works exhibit.

He had obtained his entire education at a local *Hedge School*—so at least a contemporary English writer would have called it, and it is doubtful if the little town of Ennistymon would have denied the appellation—and he derived all his inspiration and love of learning from his limited environment. In spite of the financial setback which his family suffered and which compelled him to return home and work on a little farm for five very valuable years of a student's life, he never ceased to perfect himself in his studies. The period that followed was one which served him as a period of preparation and experimentation, the results of which are embodied in his works. His industry and perseverance were extraordinary, especially when we consider how little time and energy could have been left him after each day's teaching and how difficult and expensive it was to put any book of a learned nature on the market. Lynch's career by itself is a monumental proof of the high standard of knowledge attained by the Irish schoolmaster of his day.

P. J. Dowling

STRAFFORD IN IRELAND

BY JOHN MACERLEAN, S.J.

Strafford. By Lady Burghclere. (Macmillan. 1931. 30s. net.).

THOMAS WENTWORTH was born in 1593. When twenty-one years of age, he was elected member of parliament for Yorkshire and for the next ten years was a moderate supporter of the government, though opposed to its policy of continental wars. Through dislike of the Duke of Buckingham or for some other ill-defined reason, he swerved round to the popular side and was one of the strongest promoters of the Petition of Rights which Charles I was forced to accept on 7 June 1628. The scene then changed suddenly. In the course of the following six months he was created Baron Wentworth (22 July) and Viscount Wentworth (10 December), and on the Christmas day following was appointed President of the Council of the North, from which time forward he appears as a strenuous upholder of the royal prerogative against parliaments and citizens.

Having distinguished himself for four years in the presidency of the North, he was selected by the King on 12 January 1632 to be Lord Deputy of Ireland, but he did not arrive in Dublin till 23 July 1633. For seven years he ruled Ireland as absolute master. In September 1639 he returned to England, where he was created Earl of Strafford on 12 January 1640; and though he came back to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, he stayed here only a couple of weeks—from 18 March till 3 April. On his return to England Charles confided to him the management of military operations against the Scotch Covenanters who had invaded England. While thus engaged the Long Parliament met (3 November 1640), and he was summoned to London by the King, where shortly afterwards he was arrested by the authority of the Parliament, committed to the Tower, and charged with having "traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the realms of Great Britain and Ireland, and instead thereof to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law." His trial began on 24 March. He defended himself with ability and eloquence, but was condemned as a traitor and executed publicly on Tower Hill on 12 May 1641.

Wentworth's character is one of the problems of history. He has evoked the highest admiration and excited the fiercest animosity. To some he is a master mind, a devoted loyalist, an eminently sane and efficient administrator; to others a typical

despot lured to destruction by an arrogant pride bordering on madness. Lady Burghclere has undertaken to retell his story. She has had access to his voluminous correspondence preserved in the archives of Lord Fitzwilliam at Wentworth-Woodhouse. From this source most of his political correspondence has already been published, and it is doubtful if much of importance remains. The new documents she gives are concerned more with his family affairs and the management of his property than with his public activities. In the case of a more objective historian it would be only just to conclude that nothing essential or useful for the better understanding of his political career has been omitted, but she is so thorough a partisan that a suspicion remains that only such extracts are quoted as tend to give a favorable impression. From beginning to end her two volumes are an apologia. For her he is always moved by the noblest ends; his virtues and abilities are enthusiastically displayed and magnified, his faults feelingly excused or minimised. Her judgments of his opponents are measured out with a different measure. With the exception of the worst offenders of all, the men who condemned him to death, the Puritans of the English Parliament (for whom she has a warm corner in her heart), all his adversaries and all his victims are covered with opprobrium and denounced—in language not always ladylike—as vain, incompetent and corrupt.

This sustained eulogy is not borne out by facts. Wentworth had undoubtedly great qualities, but his faults were many and manifest; and unless these be honestly taken into account, his story becomes unintelligible and his fate an enigma. Chief among his faults must be reckoned a quarrelsomeness which raised him up hosts of enemies wherever he went and a haughtiness which took pleasure in extorting recognition of his authority from adversaries by adding public humiliation to defeat. As President of the Council of the North of England he quarrelled with his Yorkshire neighbours, the Saviles, Henry Bellasys, Sir David Foulis, Lord Eure, Sir Thomas Gower etc., and had them, one after the other, summoned, fined, imprisoned, and forced to humble themselves in public before him.

Similarly, soon after his arrival in Ireland, we find him in conflict with every class. He quarrelled first with the high officials of the government with whom he had to work, the Lords of the Council, the late Lords Justices, Boyle Earl of Cork and Loftus the Lord Chancellor, Lord Mountnorris the Vice Treasurer, Lord Wilmot President of Connacht and Commander of the Forces, Sir Piers Crosby a Privy Councillor, and others. Several

of these were deprived of office and imprisoned, and one, Mountnorris, was condemned to death. He treated Lords and Commons with disdain; offended powerful noblemen like the Earls of Kildare, Fingall, and Ormond; and succeeded in alienating each of the three great religious bodies in Ireland, the Catholics by scheming to confiscate their properties, the Scotch planters in Ulster by forcing on them an anti-covenant oath, and the Calvinistically minded clergy of the Protestant Church by making them accept the doctrine and articles of the Anglican Church.

A second great fault of his was his contemptuous disregard for constitutional usage and the liberty of the subject. For him neither Parliaments nor Juries had any real rights; their sole function was to register the will of the king or the decision of his deputy; nor was the observance of such formalities even necessary, for an Act of State could take the place of an Act of Law. Shady electioneering practices had not been unfamiliar to him during his parliamentary career in England. He narrowly escaped being unseated in 1621 for intimidating voters, and he was actually unseated in 1625 owing to the illegal conduct of a sheriff who favoured him. When then he summoned a Parliament in 1634, he used every means his experience could suggest towards securing the return of a majority of Protestant members in a country predominantly Catholic. To attain this end he revived all the unconstitutional practices employed by Chichester in the previous reign. Where possible, sheriffs were first chosen who could be trusted to favour his candidates; representation equal to that of populous Catholic districts was given to 39 miniature boroughs, each of which contained a mere handful of Protestant settlers; and the constitutional requirement that members of Parliament should be resident in their constituencies was brushed aside to provide seats for his English friends—and for officials, like military officers, wholly dependent on him. He interfered even in the actual polling. When it was seen, for instance, that the Catholic candidates in Dublin were winning the election, Wentworth stepped in, stopped the polling, had the sheriff arrested, fined £700, deposed from his office and declared incapable of ever holding it again. Then he appointed a Protestant sheriff and recommenced the election next day—with the result, of course, that two Protestants were elected. By such practices he secured a Protestant majority of eight.

The rights of juries were overridden with even greater truculence. Before he could proceed to carry out his plantation schemes, it was necessary that county juries should find the

king's title to the lands. Apart from the iniquity of the proposed confiscation, the king's title to all Connacht was by no means legally clear. By threats Wentworth succeeded in terrorising the juries of the counties of Roscommon, Sligo, and Mayo into finding the verdict he desired. When however the Galway jury proved recalcitrant, his anger knew no bounds. The jurymen were summoned to appear in the Castle Chamber at Dublin. There fines of £4,000 each were inflicted on them ; their estates were seized and their imprisonment continued till the fines were paid. The sheriff who had empanelled the jury was fined £1,000 and being unable to pay it, died in prison ; and the Catholic lawyers who had argued the legal case of the proprietors were excluded from practice in the courts till they would take the Oath of Supremacy. As this violent and tyrannical procedure shows, Wentworth's theory was that the sole duty of a jury was to bring in the verdict the government desired. "Unless," he says, "a strict hand be in that kind held upon the natives, the priests shall carry them against all things that can be. For either they do not, or will not, understand their evidence, so that it begets one of the most crying sins in Ireland ; and if some examples have been made, they are upon strict grounds and reasons of state."

Truthfulness was, according to Lady Burghclere, the virtue above all others for which Wentworth was conspicuous. "There was one thing Wentworth could not do : he could not tell a lie" (I, 167). "Whatever his faults, he was too proud a man to speak or act a lie" (II, 2). In spite of these repeated assertions history on the contrary shows us Wentworth both speaking and acting a lie. Take the case of the Graces. In return for a voluntary subsidy of £120,000 from Ireland King Charles I had in 1628 undertaken to grant the Irish people certain concessions, known as the Graces, among which was one which limited the claims of the crown in cases of land-titles to the last sixty years. The contract was accepted and ratified, and the king promised that the Graces would be made law in the next parliament held in Ireland. The subsidies were paid, and when Wentworth summoned a parliament in 1634, the whole country expected the fulfilment of the royal promise. Wentworth's capacity for deceit and double-dealing now revealed itself. He was then secretly maturing plans for the confiscation of the lands of Irish Catholics and was resolved not to allow this Grace in particular to become law. At the same time he was anxious to induce parliament to vote additional subsidies. If he could have two sessions of

parliament and succeed in inducing the members to vote the subsidies in the first session, he would be in a position to disappoint them by vetoing the introduction of the bill to legalise the Grace concerning land-titles in the second. With this resolution concealed in his heart he gave the following pledge in his speech at the opening of parliament (15 July 1634) :—

> I am further, by express command, to signify unto you that his Majesty is purposed to make two sessions of this parliament : this for the crown, and another at Michaelmas for you : this to provide for himself as head, and that to care for his people as members. Yet this I dare assume, that if you fail not the King in this former, his Majesty, above all you can think, will go along with you in that latter session . . . Surely so great a meanness can never enter your hearts as once to suspect his gracious regard of you and performance with you, where you affie yourselves upon his grace and bounty.

They believed his word, they affied themselves not only on the king's promise but on the truthfulness of his Lord Deputy, and were deceived. Wentworth, the man who could not tell a lie, having got the money, refused to allow a bill for the legalising of the Grace concerning land-titles to be introduced. Had an enemy of Wentworth's acted thus, Lady Burghclere's language may be imagined. As it is, the only thing that she has got to say about this dishonorable deceit is : " Necessary though it be, political diplomacy is seldom a pretty spectacle."

Regarding Wentworth's economic policy in Ireland historians hold different opinions. Lady Burghclere, as we might expect, considers it to have been a success ; others believe the success was more apparent than real. The chief authority for it is Wentworth himself, and the chief argument in its favour is the increase of the royal revenue from the customs. That the increased revenue accruing to the king from the customs does not necessarily spell increased prosperity in Ireland may be demonstrated with the argument used by Wentworth to secure his master's approval of his scheme of prohibiting the manufacture of cloth in Ireland—viz., that if the Irish were forced to get their wool manufactured into cloth in England, they would have to, pay customs four times : (1) when the wool was leaving Ireland, (2) when it entered England, (3) when shipped back from England and (4) when it entered Ireland again ; and he adds, quite unnecessarily, that all this would be to the great profit of the king. Such a system of quadruple customs would not connote increased prosperity, but merely prove that more money was being extorted from Ireland for the king.

In connection with this Irish woollen industry Lady Burghclere puts forward a futile plea : " Critics have talked as if Wentworth

ruined instead of discouraged cloth manufacture in Ireland. As a matter of fact there was little to ruin . . . With the weaving carried on by the peasant women who were in the habit of weaving and dyeing frieze for their own domestic use, he never interfered . . . He simply did not encourage an enterprise which could only have been successful if skilled artisans had been allowed to migrate from England to Ireland" (I, 229-30). In this defence Lady Burghclere claims more for Wentworth than he did himself. He does not claim that his discouragement of Irish woollen manufacture was merely negative; he asserts that he discouraged it "as far as he might lawfully and fairly do," and we have already seen some examples of what that meant to him. As for there being no woollen manufacture in Ireland for him to ruin, Wentworth is again at variance with his panegyrist. He says that at his arrival he found some small beginnings of a clothing trade (evidently not merely the private manufacture of cloth by peasant women for their own domestic use) and that this trade was increasing year by year so rapidly that he was afraid the Irish would cut England out of the market by underselling; whence he concluded that the Irish woollen manufacture should be so discouraged that the Irish would be entirely at the mercy of the woollen manufacturers of Yorkshire, and reduced—"lawfully and fairly," of course—to such a position that "they could not depart from us without nakedness to themselves and their children" (Vol. II, p. 19).

It would be useless to examine here Wentworth's other economic exploits in Ireland; his connexion with all kinds of monopolies like soap, starch, glass, tobacco and tobacco-pipes, tallow and pipestaves; or his proclamations regarding rates, linen, yards, thread, etc.; for there can be no doubt but it was most undesirable that a Lord Deputy should mix himself up in such commercial operations as farming of taxes and trading monopolies. By doing so he acted very imprudently and exposed himself to charges of corruption, with which he was assailed from all sides and by all parties—Ulster and Connacht, officials and civilians, Catholics and Protestants. It is idle to dismiss these accusations as if they sprang from jealousy or personal hostility; their vehemence, their universality, their long continuance force us to believe that they can not have been devoid of serious foundation.

Neither need we enter into his schemes for confiscation and plantation. They were in direct violation of the Graces promised by the king, as we have seen, and their iniquity is recognised by practically all historians. In the west, Connacht and Clare,

and east of the Shannon, Idough and Ormond, the two largest districts that had escaped the spoliations of the previous century and were still in Irish and Catholic hands, were marked down for confiscation. The objects to be attained were : first, increase of revenue for the king ; secondly, the breaking up of the Catholic solidarity of these districts by introducing into them a horde of hungry Protestants from England ; and finally to enable the confiscators, the Commission of Defective Titles, the Wentworths, the Radcliffes, the Mainwarings and other English officials to repay themselves for their labours by carving out for themselves noble estates. A letter of the Catholic bishop of Elphin, written in the midst of these events, gives us a vivid picture of the anxiety of all the proprietors, who knew not whether they were to be deprived of a quarter, or a third or a half or of the whole of their estates. Lady Burghclere affects to deride his testimony, but again the words of Wentworth refute her. Writing to the king on 10 September 1636 about the complaints of the Connacht proprietors, he says : " All the answer I can give is that if the taking of an half move that country to enter into open rebellion, the taking of a third or a fourth methinks should hardly secure the crown their allegiance. Then, be it granted that they are thus unsound and rotten at the heart, wisdom advises so to weaken them and line them thoroughly with English and Protestants, as that they shall not, by the help of God, be able to disquiet anything, if they would " (Letters, II, 34). Lady Burghclere, of course, has no disapproval of this iniquitous scheme nor sympathy with the victims ; but impartiality is not her virtue, and her statement of the case is neither complete nor correct. She confuses the projected plantation of Idough with that of Ormond and offers no explanation of that collusive deal between Wentworth and the Earl with regard to the baronies of Ormond, as a result of which *facti sunt amici Herodes et Pilatus in ipsa die, nam antea inimici erant ad invicem.*

One might have hoped that after the lapse of three centuries, historians could write on these matters calmly, but Lady Burghclere's volumes prove that the passions and prejudices of the seventeenth century are not yet dead. Wentworth certainly would not have suffered by a more restrained defence. Impartial minds are prepared to admit all that can be truthfully said in his favour ; for the animosity of his judges awakens sympathy for the victim, and his tragic end casts its shadow over his whole career. To establish his greatness there is no need to minimise or deny his defects. Father William St. Leger, S.J., his

contemporary, though no admirer of his unsound principles, could yet write of him as "*magni animi, ingenii maioris vir, Thomas Wentworth.*" He was undoubtedly a man of great parts. In political, financial and military affairs he displayed remarkable administrative ability. In an age when religious toleration was unknown to his countrymen, he could boast that no man had suffered death for religion during his governorship. Even his faults have some redeeming features. His quarrelsomeness created many enemies for him, but the men he quarrelled with were the powerful rather than the weak. He acted often illegally and unconstitutionally, but he could plead with truth that his predecessors had been allowed to do the same things with impunity. His correspondence proves him to have been a master of the English language. The eloquence with which, in spite of his weak health, he defended himself at his trial, would have moved any assembly less bitterly hostile than the Parliament of England, while the resignation with which he heard of his abandonment by the king he had served and the courage with which he met his death make him a pathetic if not an heroic figure.

Yet when all allowances have been made, it must be confessed that the task he set out to accomplish was beyond his powers. It was hopeless to try to carry on the government of a country without regard to the stage of political development which it had reached. In attempting to revive an imaginary regal absolutism of the past he had resort to questionable legal practices and constitutional theories, and in the end he was caught in his own toils. The chicanery he used with assurance against others was employed in the end against himself. If the Parliament of England, to compass his death, strained the law of constructive treason against him, he himself had never hesitated to strain the law against others. The royal prerogative he was so fond of invoking is a useful theory, if its application be restricted to sudden and extraordinary emergencies for which the law does not and cannot provide ; but the attempt to make it an ordinary instrument of government was bound to provoke a spirit of revolt. The secret discontent that had been gathering strength during those seven years of suppression manifested itself as soon as the autocrat disappeared from the scene. Its intensity and universality belie the fairy story of peace and progress which Lady Burghclere would have us believe.

JOHN MACERLEAN

CHRONICLE

Spain in Revolution

BY THOMAS J. O'DONNELL

THE circumstances attending the burning of churches and monasteries in the south of Spain have been summed up by Señor Don Joaquín Ramos in an electoral speech on behalf of the Acción Nacional. Referring to the expressed opinion of two Socialists, Doctor Marañón and Señor Ortega y Gasset, he chose to go even further. "They were both shameful and incomprehensible," he said, "because they were accomplished by the few, consented to by many, and they who had it in their power and whose obligation it was to prevent them, did not do so."

No one who had been present at this time in the south of Spain can question the truth of these words of Señor Ramos. The actual vandals were comparatively few. The Minister for the Interior, Señor Maura, accusing the Catholics of cowardice in not having defended the religious houses, estimated the number of incendiaries of one house in Madrid at about thirty. The crowds who witnessed the burnings were, of course, far more numerous; but though they were passive spectators, there is no doubt that the majority strongly disapproved of the vandalism. The outburst, however, was so sudden and swift that the people, like the religious, were taken by surprise. Besides that, it was not clear how far the burnings had the approval of the Government, because in many cases the armed forces of the State were present and took no action. Their orders seem to have been: "Do no shooting and allow no shooting." Hence Don Salvador de Madariaga, the Spanish Ambassador to the United States, could boast over the radio on July 11: "The anticlerical disorders took place without any personal victims. The crowds waited till all the occupants of convents and monasteries had evacuated them before destroying them." This latter sentence is quite false, as will be seen presently.

The 11th and 12th of May were black days for the Catholic Church in Spain. In all something between one hundred and two hundred religious buildings were burned or sacked by fanatical groups. Interested parties have invented different reasons for this destruction; but one thing is certain: the destruction was not the result of a sudden and unpremeditated burst of anti-religious passion. Some organisation planned the work and issued definite orders to its agents. A glance at the political events of the preceding month will make the causes seem less obscure.

On Sunday the 12th of April the municipal elections were held throughout Spain, and the results were taken—most unexpectedly—as a plebiscite in favour of the Republic. On the whole the Republican-Socialist combination lost in the country; but in most of the provincial capitals they gained overwhelming majorities, and with this success they considered themselves justified in assuming power and proclaiming the Republic. It must be remembered that the King, some months before, had offered to withdraw from Spain and leave the great decision to the Constituent Cortes, if the Republican party would shoulder the responsibilities of government. At the time they were not prepared to do this; but after the elections of April 12th they felt equal to the task, and they called on the King to fulfil his original promise. On Tuesday April 14th the King left Spain, and the Republic was proclaimed.

With the advent of the new régime the fears of an anti-clerical outburst were not unfounded. The Spanish monarchy had always been a strong bulwark of the Catholic Church, and the great majority of the kings had been staunch Catholics. If on occasions their relations with the Holy See were strained, these relations were of a political rather than of a doctrinal character. The Republicans, on the other hand, are fundamentally anticlerical—if not antichristian. Their ideal is to uproot every institution that savours of the old régime. They make no secret of their intention that the Religious Orders—especially those engaged in education—will be the first object of their attack. Like all their prototypes in revolution, they profess freedom for all religions; but in practice that means freedom for all religions except the Catholic religion. At present some eighty per cent. of Spanish education is conducted by Religious Orders. A Republic founded on Liberalism or Communism will not, of course, tolerate a monopoly of education in any hands except its own. The young must be moulded in accordance with its principles; they must receive the full benefit of the "new light."

Just as the last Spanish Republic began by an attempt at laicizing or secularizing the State, so the present Government—though professing an impartial attitude on religious questions—has from the beginning been formulating a series of anticlerical measures. In this it has secured provincial support by carefully selecting its own provincial governors and by declaring illegal the municipal elections won by the monarchists. The secularization of the cemeteries was one of the first decrees issued by the new Provisional Government. The Radicals and Socialists,

backed by their Press, called for the immediate separation of Church and State. Prudence, however, counselled that this was a question for the Constituent Cortes. But if it was not wise to throw all the Christians at once to the lions, something must be done to keep the latter quiet. And so the following decrees, against which the united Spanish Hierarchy has formally protested, were promulgated :—

1. Secularization of the cemeteries.
2. Provincial governors forbidden to take part officially in acts of a religious character.
3. The army forbidden to send special representatives to religious ceremonies.
4. Suppression of the four great Military Orders.
5. Civil rights denied to the National Confederation of Farmers (the Boerenbond of Spain and its finest economic organisation).
6. Suppression of right to a representative (a bishop) of the Church on the Board of Education.
7. Suppression of the military honours which immemorial custom and Spanish law rendered to the Blessed Sacrament as it passed through the streets.
8. Suppression of obligatory religious instruction in primary and secondary schools.
9. Suppression of the crucifix and other religious emblems in schools attended by children whose parents object to religious instruction.
10. Freedom of religious thought—which means freedom carried to the point of violating the fundamental laws of the State and the provisions of the Concordat.

The significance of this series of official decrees was not lost on the Communist element in Spain. It was clear that they could proceed with impunity against the Church. All that was required was an occasion for carrying out their plans, and this occasion was soon found in the monarchist meeting held on May 10th in the Calle Alcalá, Madrid. The mob was thrown into a state of fury bordering on insanity. It first turned its attention to the automobiles of the monarchist delegates. These were soon burned ; and then from the mob, now "blooded," went up the cry : "Mueran los frailes"—"Death to the monks."

Six provincial capitals were the principal scenes of the anti-religious demonstrations and destructions—Madrid, Cordoba, Seville, Malaga, Alicante, Valencia. It was approaching ten o'clock in the morning of Monday, May 11th, when the first religious house in Madrid—the Jesuit church and residence in the Gran Via—was attacked. A group of young men, armed with tins of petrol, smashed open the doors and windows, and set fire to the lower portion of the building before the inmates had time to escape. The latter sought refuge in the basement ; but

they soon saw that, with the building burning over their heads, the basement was no place of safety. When the present writer was returning to Ireland from Alicante, having been expelled from his college by the Communist Corporation, who gave him two hours to cross the provincial boundary, he met some of the community of the burned house, and one of them described for him their experiences thus :—

> When we had reached the basement in our efforts to escape from the flames, we discovered that we were worse off than ever. The heat became intolerable, and we all knelt down to receive absolution and prepare for death. While we were on our knees, the door was burst open by one of the incendiaries, who paused when he saw us. We heard him saying to someone outside : "They are praying." Then making the Sign of the Cross, he shouted : "I am a Catholic first," and turned from persecutor to protector. He conducted us from the basement through the crowd, who struck our Superior as he passed, and handed us over to the police for protection.

Satisfied that their work here was fully completed, the incendiaries marched towards the Plaza de Espana, where the great Carmelite Monastery and Church of St. Teresa were situated. With the help of copious draughts of petrol this building soon became a roaring mass of flames. The incendiaries then continued their march to the Paseo de Alberto Aguilero, their objective this time being the Jesuit Institute of Arts and Industries. Here the community had been already forewarned by the destruction of their residence in the Gran Via. Knowing that they could expect no protection from the Government, they and their students evacuated the building. The main wing of this college, the finest institution of its kind in Spain, was soon in flames, and the mob were about to direct their attention to the second building, which contained machinery worth many thousands of pounds, when a voice from the crowd caused them to halt. The speaker appealed to them to save the machinery for the nation, for the workers. If they had known who the speaker was, they would not have listened to his appeal ; for he was a Jesuit lay-brother in disguise. But he spoke the truth when he said the machinery was for the workers, because the Institute of Arts and Industries had always imparted free education to the working class.

To give a detailed account of the remaining conflagrations in Madrid would be impossible in a short space. Four other religious houses were burned—two colleges of the Christian Brothers, a convent of the Sisters of Mercy, and the novitiate of the Sacred Heart nuns. A pathetic incident marked this last burning. The incendiaries arrived on the scene before the nuns had time to evacuate the building. Amongst the latter was an aged nun who

had received the Last Sacraments three days before. As some kind friends were removing her on a mattress to a waiting motor car, there was a rush on the part of the mob, the car was seized, and the dying nun was deposited on the ground in front of her burning convent. According to one account she remained on the ground the whole night, until the Red Cross came in the morning to remove her from the city and carry her into France.

What happened in the case of the neighbouring Jesuit college shows how easily the Government might have prevented the wanton destruction of property. When the burners had set fire to the Sacred Heart convent, they proceeded to treat the Jesuit college in the same manner ; but a small body of troops suddenly rode up, blew their bugles, and the mob fled. The Correspondent of the London *Times*, in all his dispatches, emphasized the deliberate inaction of the Government.

So much for the vandalism in Madrid. The vandalism in the southern provinces was more extensive, wanton and sacrilegious. In Malaga twenty-two religious houses and churches were burned, and twenty-six were sacked. Of the eleven parish churches which this city possessed, only one was spared by the rioters—if " spared " is the correct word. As Malaga was one of the last of the Moorish strongholds to surrender to the Catholic Kings, it was the recipient of many thanksgiving offerings from the latter. These offerings mostly took the form of churches, which the Catholic Kings ordered to be built in the most elaborate styles of architecture. Each church was a perfect gem, and consequently Malaga has lost in architectural treasures more than any other of the southern towns. In the course of a few hours a small band of anti-God houligans destroyed works of art and historical documents which can never be replaced—thereby inflicting irreparable loss not merely on Catholics, but on Spain as a civilized nation. It will be of interest to Irish readers to know that one of the parish churches sacked was dedicated to our own St. Patrick, to whom the people of this region profess a special devotion. In some parishes the 17th of March is observed as a feast.

In Alicante the vandalism seems to have received the support of a large element of the population. Of the twelve religious houses destroyed, seven were burnt down and five were irreparably sacked. At the time of these occurrences the writer was on the staff of a college at Orihuela, a town some thirty miles from Alicante. Here, as in Albacete, a third form of religious persecution was carried out—namely, the eviction of the religious

and the occupation of their houses by the municipality. On Tuesday May 12th a commission from the municipality, headed by the Mayor, presented itself at the college. The Mayor, speaking on behalf of the other representatives, told the Rector that they had come to ask the community to put its trust in the municipality and to evacuate the college for the night. They would save it from destruction. If the incendiaries should come from Alicante during the night, they would be able to say to them that there were no religious in the college, that it was already national property, and that therefore it should not be burned. As the time for the summer examinations was approaching, the Mayor guaranteed our safe return to normal life on the following day. No incendiaries came during the night, and in the morning we returned to resume our work ; but from the main window of the college flew the Red and Republican flags, and at the door we were met with pointed guns and with a brutal order of expulsion—which came from the same lips that on the previous evening had only words of honey for us. In the afternoon the expelled community was given two hours to leave the town and cross the provincial boundary. The Rector represented to the Mayor that, as there were no trains leaving Orihuela within two hours, it would not be possible to carry out his order. The Mayor coldly replied that if any Jesuits were found in the province within two hours, he would not be responsible for what would happen to them. For our departure the townspeople were in the streets shedding tears of impotent protest at our banishment.

On my way from Orihuela I passed through Alicante, where the religious houses were still burning. The Jesuit residence, as in most places, was the first attacked ; but, owing to its central position in a narrow street, it could not be burned without grave danger to the whole town. The incendiaries, however, were not to be robbed of their prey ; by means of the pickaxe and the sledge-hammer the house was left a complete ruin. When they had finished their work, nothing remained but a roofless shell. The Civil Guard, which took no action to protect our property, seem to have had orders to protect our lives. At any rate I was honoured with a bodyguard from Alicante to Barcelona. At the railway station I was invited to accompany them to another carriage to comfort a nun who seemed to be in great distress. Like myself, she was a victim of the persecution ; but she had suffered far worse treatment. She was a member of a small community, Sisters of Charity, who directed a hospice for the dying, a hospital for the poor, and a leper colony in a village

outside Alicante. According to her story the incendiaries rushed into the hospital, threw the nuns on the floor, and brutally kicked them down the stairs. " I am in agony," she said in tears, " from the bruises I received during the attack."

Before ending this article something must be said of the artistic and literary losses caused by the burnings. The losses sustained by Malaga have already been partially described. Nearly all the parish churches in this city contained art treasures of considerable value, such as paintings by Alonzo Cano and sculptures by Pedro de Mena. Among the destroyed works of Cano most lamented by the artistic world were two fine portraits of Fra Alonzo Enriquez. In the holocaust of Mena's works were the famous " Crucifijo de Mena," " La Virgen de Belen," one of his three great statues of St. Joseph and the Divine Child, and the venerated statue of Our Lady known as " Nuestra Senora de los Servitos." The " Crucifix of Mena," which was wrought in the year 1658, was an object of special devotion to the Malagan people, and the incendiaries were besought by them to spare it. But their answer was to take the Crucifix from the altar, carry it into the street before the burning church, and there smash it to pieces with a hatchet. Another object of Malagan devotion was the Mena statue of Our Lord carrying His Cross and known as " Jesus de la Misericordia." It was the custom to carry this statue in processions during Holy Week. But objects of devotion were, in the eyes of the enlightened incendiaries, objects of superstition ; they must, therefore, be destroyed, and so this statue was destroyed. Finally, in the parish church of St. Philip there was a set of paintings which depicted the life of the Saint and which tradition attributed to Titian. If this tradition was well founded, then the world knows what it has lost by their destruction.

No attempt was made to destroy the Cathedral of Seville, the greatest architectural wonder of Spain. Why not ? Because the authorities clearly decided how far they would allow incendiarism to go. It is unfortunate that they did not exercise their power to save the Church of St. Joseph (Capilla de San José). On account of its historical associations and the beauty of its architecture, it had been listed as a " national monument." Its destruction was the greatest loss suffered by Seville.

Besides the artistic losses, there were also great literary losses in various cities ; but so far I have not been able to find out their extent. In Madrid both the Carmelites and the Jesuits suffered irreparable losses by the destruction of their great libraries. The

former were engaged in the preparation of critical editions of the works of St. John of the Cross and of St. Teresa. For that purpose they had collected valuable manuscripts, documents, and first editions. How far these have perished I do not know. But I do know that the Jesuits have lost their finest library in Spain—more than 80,000 volumes, with many first editions of the rarest works. The section devoted to ecclesiastical and profane history was recognised as the most complete in Spain; it had recently been enriched by the famous library of historical works belonging to Father Fidel Fita, who had been Director of the Academy of History. Two most important collections of historical documents —for the history of Spain and the Crown of Aragon—have perished in the flames.

The Jesuit church attached to this residence was remarkable for the number of valuable relics it contained. These seem to have all perished—among them the body of St. Francis Borgia, the death-mask of St. Ignatius, and the painting of the latter by Claudio Coello, court painter to Philip II.

It is not for me to write an *apologia* for the Spanish Jesuits; but I may be permitted to quote a paragraph from the defence drafted by the Federation of Friends of Education (*Federación de Amigos de la Ensenanza*) and presented to the President of the Provisional Government last July:—

> Further, the Jesuits have contributed to the culture of Spain. Of their institutions, the Catholic Institute of Arts and Industries is famous throughout Europe and America; the College of Higher Studies and the Commercial University of Bilbao, the Pontifical Seminary of Comillas,[1] the Chemical Institute of Sarria, and Father Pujiula's biological laboratory are respected by all scientists within Spain and beyond its frontiers. The laboratory of experimental psychology directed by Father Palmés is no less important, and the seismic observatory of Tortosa is world famous. A number of Spanish Jesuits have added to the sum of knowledge, among them Father Navarro Neumann, the seismologist; Fathers Vinés, Algué, Faura and Rodés of the observatories of Havana, Manila, and Tortosa; Father Navás, the entomologist; Father García Villada, who has written the best ecclesiastical history of Spain and who is an authority on medieval paleography; Fathers Lecina and Uriarte, whose works on bibliography are used by students everywhere in Europe. History has also been well served by the splendid and monumental collection of historical documents published by the Jesuit College of Chamartin de la Rosa, one of the buildings sacked in the recent riots. Every prominent school of history in Europe is indebted to this great collection, especially for the light it throws on world history in the sixteenth century.

The answer of the Government to this defence was to add to the final draft of the Constitution the following paragraph, which

[1] According to a dispatch from the Barcelona Correspondent of the *Universe* (Sept. 4) "the authorities have ordered the confiscation of . . . the entire library of the Seminary of Comillas, consisting of 90,000 volumes."

is not found in the first draft: "The State shall dissolve all Religious Orders and shall nationalize their property." The whole attitude of the Government towards religion can be gauged from following Articles of the Draft Constitution, which has just been presented to the Cortes for ratification. :—

Art. 3.—There is no State Religion.

Art. 24.—All religious denominations shall be considered associations subject to the general laws of the country.

The State shall in no case support, favour, or help financially churches or religious associations and institutions.

The State shall dissolve all Religious Orders and shall nationalize their property.

Art. 25.—Liberty of conscience and the right to profess and practise freely any religion whatsoever are guaranteed within Spanish territory, provided that due respect is paid to the claims of public morality.

Religious denominations shall exercise their cults only in their respective churches.

No one can be forced to declare officially his religious belief.

The religious status of any person shall not constitute a disability of his civil or political personality, excepting that provided in this Constitution for the nomination of the President of the Republic. (See Art. 68).

Art. 41.—The family is under the special protection of the State. Marriage is founded on the equality of rights for both sexes, and can be dissolved by mutual consent, by the free will of the wife, or on the petition of the husband, provided that in this case a just cause is produced.

Parents are obliged, in regard to their children, to feed, assist, educate and instruct them. The State shall see to the fulfilment of these duties.

Children born outside wedlock shall have the same rights and duties as children born in wedlock. The civil laws shall regulate the investigation of paternity.

Art. 42.—The State, which for the present recognises private property in so far as its owner is properly exploiting it, shall gradually proceed to its socialization. The State shall have at all times the right to impose on private property any transformation demanded by the common good. Every class of property can be the object of forced expropriation for reasons of social utility, which the law shall define, determining at the same time the form of indemnity. When social necessity requires it, the Parliament can proceed to expropriation without indemnity.

Art. 46.—The service of national culture is an essential attribute of the State. Primary education shall be given in the "Escuela unica" ("Ecole unique"), which shall be gratuitous, obligatory and secular.

Art. 68.—The following shall not be eligible . . . . (for the Presidency):—

(*c*) Ecclesiastics, ministers of the various religious denominations, and professed religious.

THOMAS J. O'DONNELL

REVIEWS

Biography

THE THUNDERING ABBOT. By Henri Bremond. Translated by F. J. Sheed. London: Sheed & Ward. 1930. 7s. 6d.

RANCE. Par Albert Cherel. Préface de René Bazin. Paris: Flammarion. 1930. 12 fr.

THE REAL DE RANCE. By Ailbe Luddy, O. Cist. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1931. 7s. 6d.

M. Bremond's *Abbé Tempête* has already been reviewed in these pages. Portrait or caricature, it is an extraordinarily living picture. Over and over again one feels that the writer is unfair, but that the subject was, so to speak, asking for it. Nearly every action of Rancé's life was a challenge to someone or something, and the dust of strife seems to get into the air again whenever his life is discussed. He was all wires and electricity, and the high tension at which he habitually lived was bound to discharge itself in occasional flashes of lightning. Such men may be very great, and the type is found even among the saints, even amongst the greatest of them. His own St. Bernard was such, and St. Jerome, and a greater than either of them, St. Paul. A man of such a temperament will be sure to meet with much opposition, and will generally be entirely unaware of having done anything to provoke it. And if he attains to patience and humility, as a saint must, it will be by a very hard struggle.

In the case of Rancé, his temperamental handicap was increased indefinitely by the circumstances of his upbringing. He was rich, free of all restraint, a favourite in the aristocratic society of Paris, a brilliant sportsman and a student who knew how to get first place in his examinations without wasting much time in study. When he turned to God at the age of thirty-one, the greatest obstacle in his path, one that perhaps he never fully realised himself, was the temper of a completely spoiled child.

M. Bremond shows him at grips with this difficulty, and directs our attention so dexterously to the successes (partial at least, and often veiled) of nature and early habits in their struggle with grace, that we do not perceive the more than heroic efforts which he made against them. So we are left wondering at the amazing devotion which he inspired in his monks; at the universal respect shown him even by those whom, it must be allowed, he had attacked with violence and without too much fairness;

at the great number of holy souls who sought his direction; above all, at the glorious and abiding success of his foundation.

Mr. Sheed has given us a remarkably good English version of Bremond's almost untranslatable French. When one reads: "Battre sa coulpe à coups redoublés, mais sur la poitrine du prochain, c'est . . . . " one wonders how that could be got into English. Mr. Sheed does it very simply and adequately with: "This penitential beating of one's neighbour's breast." I only noticed one slip: *serviettes* does sometimes mean napkins, but in the context here it means portfolios.

M. Cherel's *Rancé* is good and pleasant reading, a pastel in soft colours and with rather faint outlines. It can be recommended to a reader who wants in a small space the facts of the great abbot's life, a charming picture of La Trappe under his rule, and the minimum of polemics.

With Fr. Ailbe Luddy's fine work we are once more in the smoke of battle. It is clear that M. Bremond's book was much in the author's mind, and perhaps one may say, on the author's nerves. There are pages which make one almost think that "The Real Bremond" would be a more suitable title. This is a pity, because the merits or the motives of M. Bremond have no permanent association with the story, and only serve to distract attention from it. Besides, it is to be feared that a very natural indignation has occasionally somewhat disturbed the poise of Fr. Ailbe's judgment. One feels this even in passages where Bremond's name is not mentioned; with this malignant Frenchman on the pounce, you cannot afford to give away anything.

For example: at the Assembly of the Clergy in 1655 Rancé boldly espoused the cause of the exiled Cardinal de Retz. He made a manly and courageous stand for a friend in distress; but that friend, even if he was *de jure* Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, was a thoroughpaced scoundrel, and Bremond is not far out when he says that Rancé offends something deeper than good taste when he bases his argument on piety and religion. M. Cherel finds his tone, in the subsequent interview with Mazarin, too worldly, too much that of a second in a duel. For Fr. Ailbe, Rancé's action touches the summit of moral courage. The whole question is not of great importance, for all are agreed that at this time Rancé was a thoroughly worldly man. But why need Fr. Ailbe speak of M. Bremond's "detestably mean sneers and insinuations"?

Then there is Mme. de Montbazon. "Such is the case against

our abbé. His enemies have made the most of it. Let us see what can be said in extenuation . . . . " This is too much in the style of the advocate. And the arguments that follow are not very convincing. She was fifteen years older than he ; but she was a beautiful woman in the early forties, apparently quite unhampered by any moral scruples, and with a train of lovers, real or supposed, among whom the most favoured was Rancé. Her children would not allow their mother's reputation to be smirched ? But it could not well be more besmirched than it was, and there is no sign that her children were any more concerned about it than she was herself. " The slightest approach to impropriety was never observed between them " : that is to say, they did not forget the most elementary of the rules of seventeenth-century society. I venture to think that M. Bremond is better advised when he leaves the question open. Some saints, such as Francis of Assisi and Ignatius of Loyola, have had their own express testimony, concerning the errors of their early lives, refused by too devoted biographers ; I have heard it suggested that the same would certainly have happened to St. Augustine if he had not been so explicit about it. Rancé himself, describing the careers of some of his monks, makes it quite clear that before their conversion they had been real hot stuff. Dom Muce had been a grenadier, " and had all the vices of a man of that profession ; he was cruel, violent, blasphemous, ungovernable . . ." Another had been a brute and a drunkard, had done three years in jail and afterwards had joined a band of malefactors. I doubt if the effort to minimise his own former misdeeds would have been altogether to his taste.

But our judgment of his earlier life matters little. It is after his conversion that he most challenges criticism. The reviewer is tempted to recall these challenges one by one : his attitude to more than one papal decree, his language about other religious bodies, the singular emphasis he laid on penance and public humiliation as a principal means of reaching sanctity, his rigorism. These present real difficulties to his panegyrists, and I think they show that the earlier Rancé, the spoiled child, was never completely ousted by the man of God who was trying to take his place. But the man of God was the real Rancé, and many pages of Fr. Ailbe's book reveal him to our eyes. Read for instance the report of the canonical visitor of La Trappe in chapter XV. When all has been said about him, he is a noble and splendid figure . . . . in spite of the flaws.

M. F. E.

ST. IGNATIUS. By Christopher Hollis. London: Sheed & Ward. 1931. 287 pp. 7s. 6d.

THERE is a real temptation to commence a review of this book by an appreciation of its author—for Mr. Hollis belongs to the larger class of writers who betray themselves, unwittingly or unblushingly, in their work. But the method would perhaps hardly be kind to Mr. Hollis. Let us attempt another, if somewhat more circuitous avenue of approach.

The good points of this new life are: its brightness and vividness; its uncompromising, though not always very lofty, Catholicity; and its author's whole-hearted joy in the vivid pageantry of history, "feeling it grand to be alive in the midst of so much living," to steal one of his own fine phrases. It would be more than churlish, it would be unjust to fail to recognize these considerable merits.

To balance these, however, there are not-inconsiderable demerits. The flyleaf of the volume tells us that "the purpose of this book is not merely to tell again the story of the conversion and life of St. Ignatius, nor primarily to estimate the great part which he played in the history of the world. It is rather to inquire into, and explain, the reasons which led him to behave as he did, and to discover the secret of his influence over others." This task—a rather gigantic one in the case of a man so many-sided as St. Ignatius—presupposes a mind fundamentally in sympathy with its subject, a mind familiar in theory and practice with the ideas and ideals which inspired him. Appreciative biography is a pursuit which makes far greater and more intimate demands upon personality than does the mere statement of historical facts; in this sense, the old saying is true, that it takes a saint to write the biography of a saint.

Now, Mr. Hollis—he would be the first, I think, to admit it himself, for he is a most honest writer—is really not much in sympathy with St. Ignatius; admiration, respect would probably be fairer descriptions of his state of mind. He has, frankly, more understanding and (in a certain sense) appreciation of Erasmus than of the founder of the Society of Jesus. The results are not entirely happy in a biography of Ignatius. Vividness becomes not infrequently ultra-modernity. Explanations descend at times to the level of rather strained explaining-away. The treatment of the more typically "saintly" portions of Ignatius' life is often no more than an admission of failure to understand. On the whole, Mr. Hollis's book, though interesting and well

written, will hardly replace Stewart Rose or Francis Thompson in our affection and esteem.

There are many minor points which call for comment; it seems kinder to pass over them in silence. But one really cannot let pass without indignant protest the crude suggestion that the saints were strongly sexed (p. 18), and the still cruder juxtaposition of flagellation and sexual perversion (p. 71). And Mr. Hollis's theory of Rabelaisian talk (p. 58) would hardly have passed ecclesiastical censors.

If this criticism seems rather severe, it is because the book is worth criticising. Few who take it up will lay it down unfinished. Mr. Hollis at his best is very good indeed; and there are passages in the book, the beauty and vividness of which linger in the mind, and make one regret all the more keenly the shortcomings which one feels compelled to notice.

D. D.

LIFE OF ST. MALACHY. By Ailbe J. Luddy, O. Cist. Dublin: Gill. 1931. 5s. net.

ST. GERTRUDE THE GREAT. By Ailbe J. Luddy, O. Cist. Dublin: Gill. 1931. 3d.

THE CISTERCIAN NUNS. By Ailbe J. Luddy, O. Cist. Dublin: Gill. 1931. 2s. 6d. net.

SAINT BERNARD ET SON TEMPS. Recueil de mémoires et communications présentés au Congrès. Dijon: Académie des Sciences, Arts et Belles-lettres. 1928. Two volumes. pp. 332, 320.

As St. Malachy was responsible for the introduction of the Cistercians into Ireland, it is but fitting that a gifted member of that great Order should provide us with his biography. Fr. Luddy's very readable work is a welcome addition to our religious literature. The Lives of the Saints contain few more edifying pages than St. Bernard's summary of his friend's virtues:—

> Never could you hear from Malachy as much as an idle word, or see an idle gesture. Nay, you could find nothing but what edified in his walk, in his deportment, in his dress, in his countenance. The expression of his features, free alike from the gloom begotten of sadness and the levity prone to mirth, was always joyous and serene, whilst his manner, ever courteous and affable, held the golden mean between the austerity which repels and the laxity which induces dissipation. Ordinarily he kept his eyes cast down, but not in an affected manner; he seldom indulged in laughter, yet was anything but a *memento mori*, for he had a bright and happy smile that was infectious and added to the beauty of his countenance. His delight was to be alone with God or chanting with the brethren in choir;

nevertheless he would promptly interrupt his devotions whenever charity or duty demanded. On the other hand, if he was never so absorbed in prayer as to forget his neighbour's needs, he also knew how to be recollected amid the turmoil of business. He showed himself wonderfully prudent in correcting faults, lest he should break the vessel in his efforts to cleanse it. Hence he would often overlook abuses for the moment, postponing the remedy to a more seasonable time.

St. Malachy, it will be remembered, had received all his training at home, and this tribute paid to him by St. Bernard is incidentally a tribute to the ascetical tradition which the Ireland of his day had inherited from the earlier centuries. St. Malachy felt quite at home in Clairvaux; St. Bernard saw in St. Malachy a living illustration of what the perfect religious should be. The conclusion is that between the Cistercian ideal and the early Irish monastic ideal there was much in common; so much, indeed, that the Cistercian abbeys of the twelfth century may not unjustly be regarded as heirs in spirit to the old Irish monasteries. Hence, perhaps, the profound love for the Cistercian Order which, in every age since the foundation of Mellifont, has figured as an instinctive trait in our Irish character.

In his booklet on St. Gertrude Fr. Luddy gives an interesting account of that distinguished mystic, as well as of the origin and expansion of the Institute of Cistercian nuns. His more recent book deals in a fuller manner with the same subject. An enthralling description is given of the vicissitudes that befell the Cistercian Order in the troubles caused by the French Revolution. The Odyssey of Dom Augustine Lagrange with his monks and of Soeur Marie-Joseph with her nuns through Switzerland and Austria to Russia, and from Russia back to various places in Europe and to America, is surpassed in dramatic quality by but few novels. Quite a number of excellent illustrations enhance the value of the work.

Those who study the books just mentioned will feel impelled to learn more of the renowned Order to which the author belongs, and of its most brilliant son, St. Bernard. An earlier volume by Fr. Luddy will be of the greatest assistance in this quest. If the investigator wishes to go further, undeterred by detail and by a mass of technical matter, he will find a mine of information in the papers read at the Congress on Cistercian affairs held in France some years ago. These forty-nine essays have since been published at Dijon and thus made available for readers in a handy form. J. R.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. From the German of Ludwig von Pastor. Edited by Ralph Francis Kerr, of the London Oratory. Vols. XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX. London: Kegan Paul. 1929-1930. 15s. each.

THESE four volumes of the English Pastor deal with the two important Pontificates of Pius V and Gregory XIII. For English readers Vol. XVIII will be of special interest, as it deals with the famous Bull of Excommunication which marks a turning point in English Catholic history, and contains a long and careful analysis of the religious position in Scotland. Ireland, on the other hand, is briefly dismissed in a few pages. But the saintly character of Pius V makes the two volumes which deal with his reign pleasanter reading for Catholics as a whole than much of what is contained in earlier volumes. By contrast the two volumes which cover the reign of Gregory XIII are lacking in personal interest—though many of the minor figures in the story are among the most attractive in the great gathering of Saints and Martyrs that is the glory of the Catholic Revival. Borromeo, Canisius, Philip Neri, Campion, Bellarmine—these are names to conjure with; and Pastor, as is natural, is at his best when describing the Revival in Catholic Germany and Austria.

One feature of these volumes is worthy of special note. The missionary activity of the Church is not the least among her glories in the sixteenth century, and Pastor has a fine tale to tell when he gives us in full summary the story of Catholic Missions in Peru, Abyssinia, China, Japan, the Indies and Turkey as well as in Poland, Sweden and Russia. Those who may find the tangled politics of the period more than they care for will turn with relief to the chapters in which Pastor narrates this great crusade of modern Catholic Europe; and St. Pius V, as might be expected, is as courageous in his plans for the Catholic Missions as in the campaign which culminated in the victory of Lepanto. Here is a Pope who would have understood from the first the militant policy of Pius XI. A. G.

THE LIFE OF CHINGIS-KHAN. By Professor B. Ya. Vladimirstov. Translated from the Russian by Prince D. S. Mirsky. London; Routledge. 1930. 6s.

MR. H. G. Wells has recently shown us all how wide is the appeal of history when viewed, not as the story of one continuous, self-contained civilisation, but of humanity as a whole. This short biography of one who ranks high among world-conquerors,

deserves to be read in that connection. Professor Vladimirstov knows his subject well, for he is a trained scholar in Mongolian philology and history; and his narrative is based directly on the Mongol, Chinese, Persian and Arab writings that are the primary source for our knowledge of mediaeval Mongol history. To a lesser extent Marco Polo and the mediaeval missionaries who visited Mongolia and China bear witness to the substantial truth of the tale; their evidence takes on fresh interest in the light of what is now known to be native Mongolian tradition. Professor Vladimirstov writes plainly and simply, without notes or bibliographical references. It is perhaps a pity that he has confined himself so strictly to the life-story of one great ruler, for many of his readers will miss a concluding chapter or two on the later history of this Empire, that was founded with such astonishing rapidity, and that has left permanent traces of its existence, not only on the steppes of Central Asia, but also in Russian and European history. Russian scholars, as is but right, have played a prominent part in the reconstruction of this half-forgotten legend. And the present translation, also the work of a Russian, reads simply and easily, though here and there is the inevitable mark of a foreign hand. P. D.

AN INDEX TO CATHOLIC BIOGRAPHIES. Compiled by Rev. Stephen J. Brown, S.J. Dublin: Catholic Central Library. 1930. 5s. (Cloth). 3s. 6d. (Paper).

HERE we have a list, not complete perhaps, but sufficient for all practical purposes, of the literature that has grown up round the general theme of Catholic biography. In all there are some 10,000 items in this small publication of only 140 pages; and these items include three main groups; 1. Lives of Saints, 2. *Biographies édifiantes*, that is to say biographies written mainly for the purpose of edification, though the subject of the biography has been neither canonised nor beatified. 3. Lives of prominent Catholic workers in the Catholic cause. Plainly this last group might have been extended almost indefinitely, if the scope of Fr. Brown's Index had included all prominent Catholic men and women. The limitation which he has made is at once practical and reasonable; and a brief examination of the items listed is enough to show that here we have an invaluable guide, not only for the student of Catholic history and social action, but also specially for those who are endeavouring to build up Catholic Libraries for local Catholic groups. These two benefits that can so easily be derived from this volume more than justify the time and trouble that must have been spent so largely in

its preparation. But there is yet another result which, we hope, will follow from this timely publication. To quote from Fr. Brown's preface, "we should be glad if this little book were to aid in some measure in saving from forgetfulness certain of these biographies, and thereby in perpetuating the memory of those whose lives they record." No student of Catholic history can have failed to lament the general ignorance of much that is inspiring and instructive in the long roll of noble Catholic names. Fr. Brown has done his part to counteract that ignorance; and we wish his work all success in a very noble cause. We may add that most of the items listed in this work are written either in English or French; and that the C.T.S. and Messenger biographies are given in a special list at the end. A. G.

Celtica

THE MARTYROLOGY OF TALLAGHT. Edited with introduction, translations, notes and indices by Richard J. Best and Hugh J. Lawlor. London: The Henry Bradshaw Society. 1931 Pp. xxviii. + 262.

A REAL service has been rendered to students of ecclesiastical history by the publication of the Martyrology of Tallaght. The first mention of this Festology occurs in the Félire of Gorman, composed between 1166 and 1174. It found its way, about the same time, into the great *bibliothecula* known as the Book of Leinster, which Aed mac Crimthainn was compiling. The leaves containing this section later became detached and were placed at the disposal of Michael O'Clery during his search for hagiographical material in Ireland; Michael made a transcript of the Irish part, which he passed on in due course to Louvain, where it was drawn upon abundantly by Colgan during the progress of his monumental work, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*. An edition of the Martyrology appeared in 1857, but so imperfectly executed that the book was practically useless to historical students. This was most regrettable, as well because the Martyrology was the oldest of its kind, as because, being written in prose, it was richer in material than its chief competitor, the Martyrology of Oengus, composed between 797 and 808. It will thus be realized that the new edition, made by scholars of European reputation, is an event of the highest importance in the realm of Irish studies.

A learned introduction relates the facts to which attention has just been drawn. Then come a description of the manuscripts, details about compilation and sources, comments on the Roman

Calendar, which the Tallaght writer sought to include in full in his collection, and a statement of the principles which the editors thought wise to adopt in their handling of the text. They acknowledge with gratitude assistance received from the eminent Bollandist Celticist, Père Paul Grosjean, and two of his colleagues, from Dr. Bergin, Father Paul Walsh and the late Miss Mary Byrne. After so much painstaking care it is only to be expected that the edition should be absolutely free from error.

The text fills 95 pages; marginal notes and poems another 35. An *addendum* brings the very pleasant news that the Irish MSS. recently acquired by the National Library from the Phillipps Collection at Cheltenham contained a copy of one of the obscure marginal poems, which could thus be restored and amended. Of great interest to the ecclesiastical historian is the information given about our Irish saints. But it must be admitted that the task of translating this evidence into a consecutive story is supremely difficult, and that generations are likely to elapse before it can be accomplished satisfactorily.

Nearly sixty pages of erudite textual notes on the Roman Calendar and the Brussels transcript; and splendid indexes of persons and places complete this fine volume, which is a credit at once to Drs. Best and Lawlor and to the Henry Bradshaw Society, under whose patronage the work was undertaken.

J. R.

TAISTEALUIDHEACHT NÓ CÚRSA NA CRUINNE. Seán Ua Ceallaigh a chuir le chéile. (Macanghoill. 1931. 2s. 6d.).

Leabhar taithneamhach, tábhachtach, tairbhtheach a bhronn Sceilg orrainn sa leabhar so. An té a léighfidh é cuirfidh sé suim ann, i n-imtheachtaibh i n-Aimeirce, san Astráil, n-a shiubhaltaibh ann is as. Tá roinnt mhaith peictiúirí ann agus is móide a mhaise iad gan aon agó. Is minic ná bíonn ar lucht leabhar taistil a sgríobhadh ach a gclú féin as a gcáil a chur i méid. Níor mhar sin do'n ughdar an turus so. Léigh mar shompla an tuarasgabháil atá le fagháil ar leathanach 59: 62: 112-3: 147-8 &rle agus fanfaidh peictiúir beó nádúrtha it'aigne ná raghaidh i ndíochuimhne dhuit.

Sárleabhar is eadh é seo do lucht foghluma na Gaoluinne agus do chómhairleóchainn go fonnmhar é mar leabhar léighteóireachta sna buidheantaibh nuair a bhíonn cuid mhaith Gaoluinne ag na scoláiríbh cheana. Ní gádh a rádh gur cainnt bhlasta bhríoghmhar agus crot ceart fíorghaedhalach uirthi a gheobhaidh an macléighinn ó Sceilg.

C. M.

FION NA FILIDHEACHTA. Micheal Breathnach. Dublin : Educational Co. of Ireland. 1931. 3s. 6d. glan.

COMHARTHA dul ar aghaidh is eadh an tsuim atá á chur sa bhfilidheacht i láthair na h-uaire seo. Ba chuma nó maide croise an prós simplidhe a cuirtí i gcló tamall. Tá neart as fuinneamh ag teacht anois. Is féidir d'a lán blas d' fhagháil ins na smaointí árda.

Ni ceart ach moladh a thabhairt do'n leabhar so : an riar atá air, an toghadh a deineadh, a bhfuil de chongnamh ann chun oibre na bhfilí a bhreanughadh mar is ceart as cuibhe. Is annamh go nuige seo ba thaithneamhighde na leabhair Ghaodhlacha an maisiughadh a cuirtí ortha ach do dhein Somhairle Mac Cana a ghnó go sárchliste, ealadhanta. Ni h-é amháin go gcuireann na peictiúirí slacht as maise ar an leabhar ach léirigheann an mhaise gach roinn de'n fhilidheacht.

Ag smaoineamh dom ar a raibh á léigheadh againne trocad éigin bliadhain ó shion, ni fhéadaim gan lúthgháir croidhe a bheith orm ag tabhairt fé ndeara an dul chun cinn iongantach atá déanta. Ba láidir an sgairt chaithfadh a bheith ag an té a déarfadh an uair sin : Go mairidh ár nGaoluinn slán. Is tearc duine ná déarfadh indiu é go lán mhainghineach áthasach agus a leithéid de rí-leabhar ag dul ó láimh go láimh. C. M.

THE IRISH LANGUAGE IN BELFAST AND COUNTY DOWN. A.D. 1601–1850. By Séamus Ó Casaide, M.A., B.L., M.R.I.A. Dublin : M. H. Gill. 1931. Pp. 69. 2s. 6d.

MR. O'CASAIDE'S small volume contains an unusual amount of curious information about the decay of the native language in Co. Down and its neighbourhood. There are interesting biographical notes on the celebrated Franciscan, Aodh Mac Cathmhaoil ; members of the MacRory family ; the Armagh poet, Patrick Lindon ; a princely O'Neill of Clann Aodha Buidhe stock, who died in 1809, aged 80 ; the Trinity College scholar, Dr. Whitley Stokes, who was a United Irishman and friend of the executed leaders, Tone and Russell ; Dr. Crolly, Archbishop of Armagh and Dr. Neilson, the Unitarian Minister, in whose school at Downpatrick the future Primate received a sound classical education ; Patrick Lynch, " professor and teacher of the Irish Language," who gave evidence against Russell at his trial in 1803 ; Dr. McDonnell and others who led the Irish-Ireland movement in Belfast in the closing decade of the 18th century. Bibliographical enthusiasts will find in Mr. O'Casaide's pages

many references to rare books published in Irish, English, or in both languages at once, during the period under discussion. The disappearance of the native tongue in Down shows no peculiar features, the process of collapse having been as rapid and as complete in typical southern counties like Limerick and Tipperary. Mr. O'Casaide ends with an able summary of the causes for the language's decline: "Its disuse in public worship [a Down parish priest complained to O'Donovan in 1834 of 'the young dandies from Maynooth' who were too grand to speak the native idiom, but the harm had been done by earlier generations, for there was not then a single Irish speaker in the parish]; its outlawry in courts of justice, great and small, in colleges and in schools of all denominations [the so-called National Education system of 1831 is here a landmark]; the unfortunate example given by most of the popular leaders; the impoverished condition to which the native Irish had been reduced by confiscation, 'plantations,' and legal trickery; the association of the language with proselytising efforts [an odious subject, on which Mr. O'Casaide charitably refuses to enlarge]; the disadvantage at which Irish speakers unable to read English were placed at fairs and other business centres, where the worthless banknotes of the numerous insolvent banks were still circulating with those which had some value; the lack of books and periodicals in the Irish language, the growing power of an utterly un-Irish press, and the flunkey spirit which gripped a large and comparatively prosperous section of the people after the relaxation of the Penal Laws." J. R.

Education

QUESTIONS ACTUELLES DE PEDAGOGIE: Par. J. de la Vaissière, A—D Sertillanges, et autres. Juvisy (Seine et Oise): Les Éditions du Cerf. 1931. Pp. 197. 10 fr.

L'EDUCATION ET LA FORMATION DU CARACTERE. Par Henri de Pully, S.J. Avignon: Aubanel. 1931. Pp. 78. 7 fr. 15 c.

THE first of these two volumes begins a series on Education, for which the collaboration of a very imposing list of names has been promised. The initial issue is composed of six papers, each of some thirty small pages on the average. Very wide and very general subjects have been selected by the writers: each might well form the subject of a substantive and complete treatise. It is precisely these complete treatises that are desirable, and that are still wanting. The most serviceable chapters in this

volume are the two concluding summaries: on the positive results, for educators, derived from experimental pedagogy (by A. Fauville) and on the origins (historical and philosophical) of modern pedagogy (by A. Buyse).

Père de Pully has not given us, in these short chapters, a positive treatise on method, though such would appear to be the range of the title that he has chosen. He finds, however, plenty of indications for us of a positive character, though far too strictly limited to what are necessarily transient conditions in France of the post-war years. Combined with a more formal and systematic treatise, such as that of Lindworsky, recently noticed in these pages, his summary on the formation of the will (Chapter II) can be of real service. T. C.

THE REFORMATION AND ENGLISH EDUCATION. By Norman Wood, M.A., Ph.D. London: Routledge. 1931. Pp. 374. 15s. 0d. net.

DR. NORMAN WOOD has given to this well-planned and carefully-written volume a general title that is a good deal too wide for its content. But it is limited, by a sub-title, to a study—mainly of a legal character—of the efforts of Anglican England, in the sixteenth century, to impose its specific religious concepts on universities and on secondary schools. This main topic, selected, as its author tells us, from a very much wider mass of material prepared by him for the London Research Degree of Ph.D., is adhered to with exemplary rigour. Exception might, perhaps, be taken to the chapter of some fifty pages devoted to "Preachers and Preaching"; but it is certainly apposite and serviceable. The general result really adds a quite novel department to the History of Education in England, well served during 1930 by volumes due to Dr. J. W. Adamson, Dr. F. Smith, and the Hammonds.

Dr. Norman Wood, accordingly, does not treat of the actual effects of the Religious Revolt, in England, on the opportunities of education, whether as to extent of schools, or as to financial aids, or as to the quality of teaching. He confines himself to the exposition from documentary sources, always neatly welded into his text, of the state policy of Anglicanism as operative at Oxford, Cambridge, and in a large number of secondary schools, legal and illegal. What he writes has an interest far beyond Anglicanism proper. The efforts of the Puritans to use schools and tutorships in private families, fully

set out in the final chapter, is highly interesting in itself. But it is quite eclipsed by the preceding chapter on the Catholic Recusants. In forty pages, with texts drawn largely from Catholic sources, that record is now presented for the first time in a connected form. It can be usefully supplemented from the chapters on the universities ; the whole mass of dramatic matter is calmly and objectively handled, with a resulting impression of the most vividly real character. To a most remarkable extent, Catholics as well as Puritans managed to elude the policy of the State exercised through its controlled Church. But Catholics had more at stake than had the Puritans ; and under the pressure of legal severities their losses were distinctly the greater.

Highly important, too, on the State side, was the imposition of set catechetical instruction. On this topic Dr. Norman Wood's work naturally marks a great advance on the results collected a score of years ago by the late Professor Foster Watson. Chapters on books and their censorship, and on schoolmasters themselves, complete this most readable and informatively objective investigation. A companion volume on the comparative quality and quantity of Elizabethan education and above the primary stage may perhaps be expected from Dr. Wood, if we may interpret his preface. Such an impartial study would be a great advantage to all specialist students of Education.

T. C.

History

CATHOLIC CULTURE IN ALABAMA. The Centenary Story of Spring Hill College, Alabama, 1830-1930. By Michael Kenny, S.J. New York : The America Press. 1931. Pp. 408. $5.00.

This record of the most distinctive Catholic college on the southern seaboard of the United States will be read with much interest and profit by all organisers of Catholic education ; for the history is as distinctive as the college. It is long, and ample in detail ; but the details are very much alive, and one finds in every paragraph the practised pen and the full literary vigour well worthy of that Irish countryside which also produced such skilled writers as John Augustus O'Shea, T. P. Gill, and W. P. Coyne. The story of Spring Hill swings along with a sure and sturdy stride.

It is a distinctive story in several respects. The place given to studies and to teaching is the place of honour, a spacious and most appreciative place, in which classical studies exhibit their

full power, yet live in harmony and fruitful union with natural and experimental sciences, modern European languages, and philosophy. Were one to select a typical instance of the thoroughness of that work, it would be the fifty years spent by one teacher and writer, who both taught and wrote Latin grammar. Games and recreations, too, have their place, but have no more. The discipline story, if traced from point to point in this highly informative story, will be found to be perhaps the most significant thing of all. The outspoken commendations of the whole system by many distinguished past students are always commendations of its intellectual training and its fine Christian and manly spirit. Nor are the lessons from the obverse missing. They are found early in the book; they recur later, well within the present century.

It is a special pleasure to find appreciative mention of such Irish workers at the College as Theobald Butler, S.J., William Butler, S.J., Richard D'Alton Williams. Many others, too, of all generations of the college staff have been Irish; and a survey of the French and Irish influences, in the evolution of what is undoubtedly an American college, can be clearly traced from the time of the transfer of its administration, in 1847, from the pastoral clergy to the French Jesuit Province of Lyons. Nor is the added interest of Spanish connections wanting.

While a centenary story, this account of Spring Hill looks forward. Dr. Michael Kenny's concluding pages are especially illuminating on the prospects ahead, and especially on the "extra-legal" situations created by academic organisations, national and regional, within the United States. T. C.

ANTI-PAPAL LEGISLATION IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND (1066-1377). By John Tracy Ellis, A.M. Washington. 1930. Pp. xiv + 137.

THE initial stage of Henry VIII's warfare against the Holy See is marked by a series of enactments directed against the independence of the Church. He forbade papal dispensations and appeals to Rome, stopped the payment of Peter's pence, seized the first fruits of ecclesiastical benefices and took ecclesiastical appointments into his own hands. Hostile as these acts were, they were not new discoveries of Henry's mind. They had a long history behind them and can be paralleled in the legislation of England during previous centuries. This is the point selected by Mr. Ellis as the subject of his dissertation for the doctorate of philo-

sophy in the Catholic University of America. Beginning with the Norman Conquest (1066), he studies the growth of anti-papal legislation and indicates the gradual encroachments of royal authority upon the recognised rights of the Church.

William I was no sooner firmly established on the English throne than he forbade the bringing of papal letters or bulls into England without his permission. Henry I in 1107 secured that ecclesiastics should receive the temporalities of their sees and benefices from the hands of the king in the same way as lay barons. The Constitutions of Clarendon in 1165 asserted the right of the king to occupy the temporalities of ecclesiastical benefices during vacancy. In 1231 organised opposition to the appointment, by papal provision, of foreign clerics to English benefices began. The Statute of Mortmain in 1279 interfered very seriously with donations and legacies of property made in favour of ecclesiastical or religious persons. The Statute of Carlisle in 1307 forbade superiors of religious houses to send moneys, etc. to their mother-houses on the Continent. Appeals to the papal court and the bringing of papal letters into England were forbidden by the Parliament of 1343, and the climax was finally reached in the series of acts passed by the Parliament of 1351-53—viz., the Statute of Provisors, which ordered that ecclesiastical dignities in England should be filled by the native patrons, not by the Pope; the Statute of Treason, which placed outside the king's protection all purchasers of papal provisions; and the Statute of Premunire, which laid down that no one should draw any one out of the kingdom to answer a plea in a court abroad, under pain of forfeiture, etc. Therefore we can truly say with Mr. Ellis that "when Henry VIII ascended the throne of England, important precedents for many of his later actions against Rome had already been established for him."

It is true these laws were not regularly and rigorously enforced, and English kings themselves often set the example of non-observance. But when we consider the determined stand taken by pontiff after pontiff against similar encroachments attempted by kings of France and emperors of Germany, we are surprised to find the opposition of the Holy See to the aggression of English kings and parliaments so intermittent and weak. The political and religious circumstances of the times offer a partial solution of the problem. The king of England was useful as a counter-poise to France or Germany; and therefore the Holy See was naturally anxious to keep in his good graces. In crisis after crisis Mr. Ellis points out how reluctant successive popes were

to do anything that might offend or alienate the kings of England (pp. 9, 10, 29, 37, 44, 47, 50, 55, etc.).

Having pointed out that the antipapal legislation of medieval England was motived by economic and political considerations and did not indicate any schismatical intent, Mr. Ellis concludes :

> "It was in the Act of Supremacy in 1534 that Henry VIII assumed an attitude towards the Holy See which none of his predecessors had ever taken. In that act the king declared that henceforth the English monarch was to be known and respected as the supreme head of the Church of England. No king of England before Henry had ever thought of himself in the light of spiritual head of the English Church. While they enjoyed many of the rights which might be thought to go with such a position, yet they were unanimous in their recognition of the pope as the spiritual head of the Church. In this act therefore Henry did take an initial step, and by this measure he did break entirely the thread of union which existed between England and the Holy See. Apart from the Act of Supremacy, however, it is difficult to find wherein Henry's action against Rome was anything but the logical conclusion and outcome of the legal rights contained in the legislation and prerogatives of the kings of England that had gradually accumulated in the course of almost five hundred years."

John MacErlean

THE DECLINE OF THE MEDIAEVAL CHURCH. By Alexander Clarence Flick, PH.D., LITT.D., LL.D. Two volumes. London : Kegan Paul. 1930. 32s.

KIRCHE UND KULTUR IM MITTELALTER. Von Gustav Schnürer. Dritter Band. Paderborn : Schöningh. 1930.

THE simultaneous appearance of these two works is an interesting study in the contrast between Protestant and Catholic mentality at work on the history of the Middle Ages. Dr. Flick is the typical American Protestant : in touch (or at least anxious to appear in touch) with the latest German scholarship, quick to generalise from what he has read, apt to confuse modern with mediaeval principles of thought and action, eager to make the Middle Ages appear less remote than he feels them to be from his standpoint, wholly incapable of appreciating Catholic customs and the Catholic point of view. Add to that a style which easily degenerates into rhetorical exaggeration, and inexcusable carelessness in the quotation of his authorities, and it will be seen that these two imposing volumes are a good deal less valuable than their exterior appearance would suggest. The book is indeed a failure—and it is a pity. For there has hitherto appeared no work in English that sums up the results of modern critical research on this most tantalising of historical periods—the age of Dante and Joan of Arc, as it is also the age of the Avignon Papacy, the Great Schism and the beginnings of Gallican theology.

To take one obvious example: the publication in several large volumes of the Registers of the Avignon Popes has thrown a flood of light on the financial administration of the Papacy in the days of the Babylonish captivity. Dr. Flick devotes a large portion of Volume I to this topic—mainly to show thereby the constant degradation of Papal policy in contrast to the new reforming movement which was beginning to take shape in the University of Paris. But careful reference to Dr. Flick's so-called authorities as they are quoted in his foot-notes makes it impossible to trust his accuracy in matters of detail, and the value of what might otherwise have been a most useful chapter is thus destroyed. It is the same with Volume II, which deals mainly with the Conciliar movement. Here again there was room for a full treatment of a most complicated subject. Dr. Flick gives the matter plenty of space, but cannot rid himself of the typical American notion that every move away from authority to popular representation is a form of progress. For him the party of d'Ailly and Gerson is "the liberal party," a phrase that alone proves its author incapable of ridding himself of modern preconceived notions in such matters.

By contrast with this shallow Americanism Dr. Schnürer's third volume is amazingly rich in material and suggestive in his presentation of mediaeval thought. His sources are the writers of the period, heretical as well as orthodox, mystical as well as controversial, lay and clerical alike. It is not easy to pick out the chapters that have given me most pleasure, though perhaps the first (on the Franciscan Spiritual movement) is the most picturesque. For Dr. Schnürer has the knack of turning up some half-forgotten tract or pamphlet, and showing how, when set in its proper background, the ideas of the author, false and exaggerated though they may be, are full of instructive illustration for those who would understand the period as a whole. His account of the sudden election and speedy abdication of San Celestino is more intelligible than any other account I have read of this most dramatic incident in Papal and Italian history. And his quotations from Jacopone da Todi and Peter Olivi show real understanding of the movement which they are seeking to interpret and justify. So too Dr. Schnürer's account of the worldly court set up by the French Popes and Cardinals at Avignon is unsparingly severe, and yet far more human and intelligible than Dr. Flick's rhetorical denunciations. Then again there are admirable chapters on the mystical movement of which Eckhart, Suso and Tauler are the most familiar names; on the feudal

character of this strange transition from Middle Ages to modern Europe ; and on the first dawn of Humanism and the Renaissance in Italy. The story is carried down in outline to the Catholic Restoration, which English writers still call the Counter-Reformation ; and Dr. Schnürer can thus claim to have completed his task, and to have told in full, with due attention to the latest discoveries of modern scholarship, that long story of development which has its origins in the Church of Constantine and St. Augustine, and which ends (as all mediaeval history ends) with the great breach in European Catholic unity and the final stabilisation effected by the decrees of the Council of Trent. It is a noble tale, and Dr. Schnürer has not been unworthy of his task. A. G.

AU SEUIL DE NOTRE HISTOIRE. Par Camille Jullian. Tome II. Paris : Boivin 1931. 20 francs.

IN this little book are collected a second series of M. Jullian's opening lectures to his annual courses on national history at the College de France. Such opening lectures are usually of a very general nature ; the present reviewer once sat out a lecture introductory to a course on the History of Religions under the impression that it was introductory to a course on Pindar, and did not discover his mistake till near the end. The lectures put together in this book cover the years 1914–1923, and their obvious preoccupation with the vicissitudes of the great war, combined with their inherent generality, makes their permanent value more uncertain. It is probably not easy for a French professor in 1931 to discuss the war from a remotely objective standpoint ; it was certainly out of the question that he should do so in 1915 ; and M. Jullian mingles much interesting and often masterly generalisation about the early history of France with reflections on the causes and conduct of the great crusade against German imperialism which sound rather naif at the present day.

But nothing written or said by such a scholar as M. Jullian is unworthy of attention ; and even his views about the war, for all their simplicity, are held with such evident honesty and combined with so sound a general philosophy of history that they reinforce the value of his teachings in the sphere where he is an acknowledged master. These introductory lectures form a yearly analysis, history, and condemnation of the whole idea of Empire, a denial of imperialistic ideas on the part of France and a deprecation of them for the future. For Professor Jullian the unit of civilisation is the *patrie*, the nation ; it is "the supreme form of human

society, the fundamental principle of progress." Empires, on the other hand, are the great foes of all civilisation ; they are founded on massacre and military force, and are carried on by autocracy. Their establishment brings with it, over wide areas, following on its destruction of national cultures, a period of lassitude and mediocrity. This doctrine of nationality as the vital principle of progress, and of empire as its foe, is not only applied by M. Jullian to the great war of 1914–18, but derived from a fearless and eloquently argued presentation in outline of the history of Rome.

Instead of regarding the Roman Empire, after the manner common to French writers, as the ancestor of all French culture, M. Jullian finds the roots of the French nation far behind Caesar, in the unity of Celtic Gaul. Gaul was already a *patrie*, in his sense of the word, long before the Roman conquest. In perhaps the most interesting of these lectures, " La Conversion du Monde à l'Hellénisme," he shows that this native culture owed whatever vital elements it took from outside not to Rome but to Greece, which had begun its influence as early as the sixth century B.C. through Massalia. " Rome," he says, " has been to us a godmother only, in the second degree so to speak, and at second-hand." The Roman conquest of Gaul, which cost a million lives, did not add a single new element to Gaulish culture. Instead, it produced only " la vulgarité morale, la banalité industrielle, l'atonie intellectuelle." He agrees with Fustel de Coulanges, and indeed also with Eduard Meyer, whose name he never mentions, that the Roman conquest of the civilised world was in reality a disaster to civilisation. As to the argument, found in the Fathers of the Church and magnificently set out by Bossuet, that the unity made by Rome was in some sense necessary as a preparation for Christianity, he recalls how he himself was formerly rebuked by a student for having used it. " God," said this student, " had no need of the Roman legions to open to His Son the ways of the world." In actual fact the Roman unity was only a military and bureaucratic superstructure on the real unity of Hellenistic civilisation, which had penetrated even into Gaul before the Roman conquest. M. Jullian does not mention the case of Ireland, which is the standing refutation of a perversion of history. It will be seen that his natural preoccupation with the stress of his country's struggle did not prevent a master from opening up far-reaching sources of thought and study for his students.

M. T.

Literature, Ancient and Modern

THE MEDIAEVAL LATIN VERSIONS OF THE ARISTOTELIAN SCIENTIFIC CORPUS, with Special Reference to the Biological Works. By S. D. Wingate. London: Courier Press. 1931. 10s. 6d. net.

THE story of how Aristotle's works, as we know them, survived in antiquity is one of the most fascinating episodes in the history of scholarship. The further story of how the mediaeval schools became possessed of the writings which made the foundation of all their science and philosophy, is only a little less extraordinary. Although it was the study of Aristotle more than anything else that brought back the mediaeval west to something approaching the level of Roman civilisation, and therefore prepared the way for all later advances, it is surprising how slow modern scholarship has been to retrace the history of this study in all its ramifications. The present work is really the first comprehensive treatise on the history of the scientific writings, and does for a wider field what Mgr. Grabmann had previously done for the 13th century and particularly for the more " philosophical " works. Being a pupil of Dr. Charles Singer, Dr. Wingate is interested most of all in biology, and though incidentally much light is thrown on the progress of translation from the logical, metaphysical, ethical, and other such works of Aristotle, the bulk of his monograph is devoted to the zoological works grouped as *De Animalibus* and to the pseudo-Aristotelian *De Vegetabilibus et Plantis*.

Dr. Wingate has brought a huge amount of personal research to bear on an extremely complicated and uncertain subject, and all students of mediaeval thought will be in his debt. He has visited, he tells us in his preface, thirty-eight libraries in Spain and Portugal and twenty-seven in Italy, in addition to many in France and England. He is thus able to throw light from autopsy on a whole series of doubtful questions where strange theories had previously been built up on guesswork. His notes are a veritable bibliography of his subject, and most of his work will not need to be done again. Nevertheless, such is the nature of the obscure problems that are constantly arising, there remain many notes of interrogation, especially in his earlier chapters.

Already, at the very beginning of the Dark Ages, Boethius set out to translate into Latin all Aristotle's works. How far he succeeded in carrying out this intention is still a mystery. Some authorities allow him only the mediaeval Latin versions

of the *Categories* and the *Perihermenias*; others are willing to yield a little to the persistent mediaeval tradition, at least in so far as other logical works are concerned. A question even arises, on the strength of disputed texts in Roger Bacon and references by St. Thomas, as to whether a Boethian version of some part of the *Metaphysics* did not survive. If it did, in any case it was little read. The renaissance of the 12th century owed its first knowledge of Aristotle to two sources—the Moors of Spain and the scholars of Norman Sicily—and the earliest versions used in the west were for the most part made from the Arabic with the help of Jews, and partly direct from the Greek. It is interesting to note that the Arabs themselves derived their Aristotle first from a Christian family, that of Hunain Ibn Ishaq and his son and nephew. In the Greek East, Aristotle was only neglected for a short period in the eighth century. Photius and his great pupil Psellos revived him, and the war between Platonists and Aristotelians was probably the most interesting Byzantine literary struggle. During the early twelfth century Palermo in Sicily and Toledo in Spain became the centres of great activity in translating Aristotle.

The school of Toledo, whose most distinguished men were Gerard of Cremona and Michael Scot, was the source from which Paris derived the heretic Aristotle with the commentaries of Averroes and Avicenna, which was so fiercely condemned. Michael Scot, who, like Duns Scotus, has a shadowy sort of claim to an Irish origin, became court astrologer to the Emperor Frederick II. He was especially interested in the biological works, and the first version, from the Arabic, of the *De Animalibus*, was his work. He also translated the commentaries of Averroes, of which so much was heard later. His *De Animalibus* formed the text-book for the lectures of the encyclopaedic Albertus Magnus, the master of St. Thomas. The ultimate mediaeval version of Aristotle in Latin was made, as is well known, by William of Moerbeke at the suggestion of St. Thomas. It did not, however, by any means altogether supersede the work of earlier translators from the Arabic. Finally, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries came the Humanist translators, who tended to despise the literal plainness of the older scholars. It is not easy to give an adequate idea of the wealth of detail devoted by Dr. Wingate to these pre-Humanist Aristotelians.

M. T.

A HISTORY OF LATER LATIN LITERATURE. By F. A. Wright, M.A. and T. A. Sinclair, M.A. London : Routledge. 1931. 18s.

THE sub-title of this volume defines its scope with greater precision —"from the middle of the fourth century to the end of the seventeenth century." That such a *History* should be attempted by two Professors of the University of London is a sign of the times. The old classical tradition, dating back to the days of Quintilian and the younger Pliny, dies hard, but is dying. Men have a wider comprehension now of all that Latin culture has meant to Europe ; they are no longer prepared to ignore St. Jerome and St. Augustine and St. Leo, Prudentius and Venantius Fortunatus and the mediaeval hymn-writers. But these are but a few of the names mentioned with honour in these pages. Very rightly the authors have refused to let their outlook be too ecclesiastical. We have here, not only Boethius and Cassiodorus, but the great Carolingians and the later Latin chroniclers and the *Carmina Burana* and Abaelard and the Franciscans and the mystics of St. Victor, all jostling together in four hundred crowded pages.

Within so short a compass there is little room for anything new : it is rather a question of selection and omission. Speaking generally, the principle of selection is sound and the few illustrations of style that have been included are well chosen. The facts have been chosen more arbitrarily, and it is evident that the authors are above everything else anxious to maintain the reader's interest. The result is a somewhat sketchy book, stimulating to those who have not dipped into the later writers, unsatisfying to the lover of any given author or any given period. That perhaps was inevitable. But was it inevitable that the account of Renaissance Latin literature should ignore, or almost wholly ignore, the Jesuit Latinists? Rapin and Sarbiewski are mentioned by name in a list of Latinists on the Continent ; of the great Jesuit tradition which was the glory of the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*, and which profoundly influenced much of the best classical continental literary style in French and Spanish and Italian, not a word. The Jesuits had no Milton, it is true. But they had Petavius, and their poets had no reason to fear comparison with Buchanan and Owen and Cowley, to whom this London publication has (not unnaturally) given ample space.

A. G.

STUDIES IN THE AGE OF GOETHE. By Marshall Montgomery. Oxford University Press. 1930. 7s. 6d. net.

Mr Montgomery, whose lamented death occurred last year in Oxford, is already known to students of German letters by his larger volume on *Hölderlin and the German Neo-Hellenic Movement*, published by the same press in 1923, as well as by the frequent appearance in the publications of the English Goethe Society of articles from his pen. Indeed, three of the present studies had already appeared among those publications; a fourth, on Herder's influence on Hölderlin, had partially appeared in the *Modern Language Review*, and the fifth alone—*Goethe's Faust as a whole*—is new to the general public. Mr. Montgomery's style in his 1923 publication was not happy; one was tempted to describe the mass of material (valuable though some of it was) as amorphous and to regret that the details, so laboriously accumulated, produced an effect of disproportion.

The present book is more pleasant to read. It has certain defects of style in common with the first work; but its form of detached "Studies" is more favourable to concise treatment of the subject. The essay on *Faust* is interesting, in that it introduces us to a point of view which, if not exactly new, is at least fresh and stimulating. In it Mr. Montgomery invokes such Germans as Konrad Burdach of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, Professor Rickert of Heidelberg and his pupil Emrich, and Heinrich Gerland of Jena for the purpose of showing the unity of *Faust* as a whole and of deprecating the view, held not only by early English Goethe interpreters like Carlyle, but also by many Germans, that the second part of *Faust* can be left out of consideration when examining the work as an expression of Goethe's philosophy and of Goethe's art. The mention, in the bibliographical note to the Faust essay, of Hermann Bahr's article on Goethe in *Sendung des Künstlers* is a proof that Mr. Montgomery has not confined himself in his study of this problem to the professional "Philolog," but has been stimulated by the thesis of this brilliant Austrian writer that Goethe was by no means the stubborn pagan whom so many of his biographers are at pains to prove him, and that such neglected portions of his work as *Faust*, Part II, are interesting examples of a Barock which, already in 1786, appealed to Goethe, even though there can be no question, in spite of certain attempts to the contrary, of fitting the finished product of Goethe's mind into the dogmatic formula of any Church.

Mr. Montgomery's work is in line, not only in subject matter

but in terminology, with the more recent developments of German criticism, where a new orientation, expressive of a synthesis of all the arts, has given birth to a new vocabulary. Indeed, frequent refusal to translate such words as " Gehalt und Gestalt " is a proof of the extent to which he has taken over the outer semblance as well as the spirit of this new school. The essay is, perhaps, of special interest now that we are on the eve of the celebration of the 100th anniversary of Goethe's death—a celebration which will, no doubt, find expression in retrospects such as Seeley gave in the eighties of the last century in *Goethe reviewed after fifty years*. Mr. Montgomery's suggestions, based upon the ideas of the German writers already mentioned and illuminated by the experiences of a century which has seen many wheels revolve full cycle, may induce some twentieth-century student of Goethe to give us a fuller treatment of what Hermann Bahr would call " Goethe : a Barock personality." M. M. M.

LITTLE JOHN OF SAINTRE. Translated by Irvine Gray. The Broadway Medieval Library. London : Routledge. 1931. Pp. + 359. 15s. net.

THE series to which this book belongs is for many reasons one that ought to be welcome to students of the medieval period unskilled in older forms of French. The author Antoine de la Sale, was a dull person as a writer; but his book, if uninteresting as literature, is yet of no slight importance as a first-hand exposition of the ideals and forms of chivalric conduct, as they existed at the eve of the transition from the medieval to the modern world.

Chivalry, indeed, had long been in the course of transformation from a genuine force determining conduct and supplying high ideals into a mere convention made up of faded and meaningless ceremonial. The older codes of *courtoisie*, if indeed they had ever exercised much real influence outside the externals of conduct, were little more than empty social forms, mere badges of a class. In the France of the Hundred Years War there was not much evidence of the observance of the higher knightly ideals by any side in that savage conflict. The burning of Joan of Arc and her abandonment by those she came to save is sufficient comment on the burlesque which chivalry had become. Accordingly one is not surprised at the exposition of the process of the making of the Knight given by de la Sale. His account serves to expose or explain much of the social decadence of the nobles of the period.

The book was meant as a didactic treatise for the Knightly formation of John of Calabria, who cannot be said to have been

a model of Knightly conduct in his manhood. The author tried to give his precepts something of a relish by investing them in a thin and insipid covering of romance—this gives the book a certain importance for those interested in literary origins.

Mr Gray has endeavoured to reproduce the flavour of the original by employing an archaic English. To some it may seem that his version has that flavour ; to others it will seem that the archaism of a foreign idiom only aggravates the tediousness and tastelessness of the original. Judging his effort as a linguistic exercise, it must be said that he has accomplished a somewhat difficult task passably well.

It may be that, as Mr Gray contends, the " salacious " conclusion was a *post factum* addition to what was first written as a treatise for the education of a boy, in order to fit it for the stronger taste of that boy when grown to Knighthood. There is no need, however, for his somewhat Puritanical and Pecksniffian contrast of medieval ethical standards with " ours " by way of excuse. " We " have no advantage over the medievals in this matter. They, at least, were candid and frank and did not take for their motto : " Assume a virtue, if you have it not."

Some have seen in " Little John " a satire : Mr Gray does not agree, and perhaps he is right. However, if there is anything in a view held by many authorities of weight, that *Les Quinze Joyes* and *Les Cents Nouvelles Nouvelles* were the work of de la Sale, then the book may very well have been intended to burlesque the fantastic and farcical forms into which chivalry had degenerated. At the very time this book was being written Martin Lefranc was commenting in no measured terms on the puerilities and what he termed the *babouyneryes* of the nobles. Such ideas were in the air, heralds of the change and evidence of the decadence of the nobility. De la Sale may very well have had his eyes open to the decay and corruption of the milieu in which he had lived, and he may have written not at all in the spirit of the innocent admirer and defender of what had become but a fort of folly.

W. J. W.

Missiology

ROBERT DE NOBILI. PREMIERE APOLOGIE, 1610. Texte inédit latin, traduit et annoté par Pierre Dahmen, S.J. Paris : Editions Spes. 1931. 201 pp. 27fr. 50.

It is with a sinking feeling of unhappy anticipation that one takes up a new book dealing with certain questions in mission history. The same, indeed, is true of universal history ; many

issues are too involved and delicate to be fit subjects for every clumsy pen. One of the most thorny of these questions is that of the Malabar Rites, Fr. de Nobili's gallant attempt at missionary adaptation, which was launched by his unaided zeal, succeeded beyond all expectation, but incurred the violent condemnation of certain fellow-missionaries. The sequel is well-known : there was much friction and bitter feeling ; the case was reported to Rome ; and after many vicissitudes de Nobili won the day. The controversy, which began in 1610, was closed in 1623 by the bull of Gregory XV which approved de Nobili's policy.

In the present case, however, unhappy anticipations are unfounded, for Père Dahmen is content to give us, in the original and in French translation, de Nobili's own *Responsio* to the accusations of his critics, adding in two appendices the letter of Fr. Gonsalvo Fernandez which gave occasion to this document, and the bull of Gregory XV which finally ended the controversy. It is only in Fr. Dahmen's introduction of forty pages that the slightest controversial (*i.e* controversial for modern readers) matter appears ; and here, while possibly a phrase or two are not of the happiest, the author says nothing to which de Nobili's critics could, we believe, possibly object.

The text itself is, of course, of the keenest interest to every student of matters missiological. Fr. de Nobili's Latin is not always Ciceronian, but the power and judgment which he reveals, and the soundness and skill of his arguments, make this document a splendid tribute to one of the greatest names in mission history.

D. D.

THE FOUR CHURCHES OF PEKING. By W. Devine. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1930. 7s. 6d.

FATHER DEVINE has had the good fortune to be in China at a very interesting moment, and he gives us in this small volume a very readable and vivid account of the Catholic Mission in Peking, from the days of the Jesuit mandarins in the eighteenth century down to the Boxer rising and the present day. The Jesuits have always been good letter-writers, and Father Devine has made the most of his opportunity ; and to the text of their letters, from which he quotes very freely, he has added a series of most instructive photographs. Here, for example, is Father Verbiest in his Mandarin's robes, and a selection of his astronomical instruments. Here is an official inscription of the Emperor Kangshi, stating that the Jesuit Church, the "Temple of the Lord of Heaven," was built by order of the Emperor. Here

also are photographs of the Rococo churches which the Jesuit missionaries of that Rococo period loved to build in the Far East, in conscious rivalry of the Gesu at Rome. And in the narrative of Father Devine's chapters you can read how the Jesuit Mission ended in sudden disaster at the close of the eighteenth century, at the bidding of the Pope; how the Vincentian (Lazarist) Fathers came out from France to carry on the work; how they gathered together what had been scattered, and built up a Mission which was the pride of Catholic missionaries in the nineteenth century; how the Boxers came, and how the French missionaries lived through the long agony of the famous siege—and the longer agony of present days conditions.

P. D.

CHRISTIANS IN CHINA BEFORE THE YEAR 1550. By A. C. Moule. London: S.P.C.K. 1930. 15s.

Catholic scholars have had reason over and over again to bless the generous and enterprising spirit of those responsible for the production of S.P.C.K. literature. Here is yet another volume that will appeal to Catholics at least as much as to Protestants and will, we hope, be studied carefully by both alike. Little more than a year ago this same firm produced, at a very reasonable figure, Professor Latourette's bulky and scholarly *History of Christian Missions in China.* That was planned as a complete record of all Christian Missions, Catholic as well as Protestant, from the earliest times down to the present day. Mr. Moule has been less ambitious in the field he has chosen, but the method he has followed makes his book, if possible, even more welcome to the serious student of missionary history. Chapter by chapter he tells the story of Christian Missions in China, from the first legendary tales of a visit of St. Thomas (expressly contradicted by the great Franciscan missionary of the Middle Ages, John of Monte Corvino) down to the few surviving remnants who died out half a century before Matthew Ricci set foot in China. But it is a story told, so far as the records permit, in the words of the actors themselves or of eye-witnesses to the events which they describe.

In an introductory chapter Matthew Ricci describes in his own words what he learned from Jews and Chinese as to the earlier Christian missions; and Mr. Moule has added to his narrative various extracts from less known documents that bear witness to the same tradition of an early Christian community in China. Then follows a translation, with detailed commentary

in the footnotes, of the famous Hsi-An monument, to which is added a version of the Chinese *Gloria in Excelsis*, discovered by Professor Paul Pelliot at Tun-Huang in 1908. (Both monuments are reproduced in full, and the illustrations to every chapter are excellently chosen). After these two venerable relics of early Chinese Christianity come the Zaitun crosses and other relics, and the contemporary account of the Nestorian Patriarch, Mar Jabalaha, and his companion, who laboured in China towards the end of the thirteenth century. This brings us to the Middle Ages, and we have extracts from Marco Polo's narrative ; a very interesting Chinese contemporary account of a Christian community at Chen-Chiang Fu ; and finally the great letters of John of Monte Corvino himself—letters which were first made known to the reading public by our Irish historian of the Franciscan Order, Luke Wadding. Since Wadding's days most readers have been content to take the text as he gives it in his *Annals ;* but of recent years attention has been drawn to the original letters, which are still extant in the Paris Library, and of which Mr. Moule reproduces a page by way of specimen. Further extracts from John's Franciscan successors on the Mission and from contemporary Oriental writers close worthily a noble tale : Mr. Moule has not brought his narrative down to the coming of Xavier and Ricci, though his book is the best possible introduction to a study of their careers. And for those who are interested in the problems of Catholic History, it is well to remember that the heroic figures of the Franciscan Mission belong to a period when the Papacy and all its spiritual energies seem to the ordinary student of history to be sunk in the Babylonish Captivity of Avignon. Those are rash who lightly assume that the Church of Christ has at any time failed in the substantial fulfilment of her great mission here on earth. P. D.

THE AFRICAN CHRONICLES OF BROTHER GILES. By the Rev. F. M. Dreves. London : Sands. 1930. 5s.

THIS book tells the story of the missionary labours of the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of St. Joseph's Society, Mill Hill, near London from their arrival in Uganda in 1903 till the present day. It takes the form of an informal chronicle, somewhat gossiping and rambling, but none the worse for that, seeing that it is intended, not for serious students of history, but for the simple faithful. It is a story of unselfish devotedness and quiet persistent heroism, enlivened by humorous episodes and quaint pictures of primitive native ways. The great merit of the chronicle is that the author

—who, for the nonce, takes the name of Brother Giles—writes on the spot, in the midst of the very scenes he is describing. Much of his text, however, is made up of extracts from letters written by the nuns. It is interesting to note that the six pioneer sisters were :—Mother Mary Paul (Murphy) from Boston ; Mother Kevin from Co. Wicklow ; Sister Solano from Co. Waterford ; Sister Alexis from Co. Tipperary ; Sister Marcella from Glasgow ; Sister Andrea from London. Mother Kevin, a woman of remarkable zeal and energy, is the heroine of the tale. The book is illustrated by some fifteen well reproduced photographs.

S. J. B.

Philosophy

THE NATURE OF BELIEF. By M. C. D'Arcy, S.J. London : Sheed & Ward. 1931. 7s. 6d.

If any reader takes up this book expecting a treatise on the nature of the act of faith, he will be disappointed. It is only in the last chapter that Father D'Arcy treats, and then rather summarily, that interesting problem. His object is rather to prepare the way for the assent of faith, by a consideration of other assents—particularly that large body of them which fall short of demonstrable certainty. " There is very little we can know with the certainty of absolute proof : there are many things which we can know on an evidence which it is silly to doubt." It is this second kind of knowledge which Father D'Arcy includes under the same " belief ": and to justify and explain our certainty of such knowledge is the purpose of the book. It is in short a new *Grammar of Assent.* After chapters devoted to the present position of belief and to the possibility of attaining truth at all, the main subject is approached in the third chapter. The psycho-analyst's explanation of belief by desire, Newman's solution by the " illative sense," the attempts to justify religious belief by religious experience are reviewed and criticised ; and the book concludes with a chapter on divine faith.

The kernel of the book is contained in the three chapters devoted to an analysis and criticism of the *Grammar of Assent.* Father D'Arcy, though he is a profound admirer of Newman, and is indeed in this book largely inspired by him, takes care to correct many of the philosophical errors of his master. On the central problem of the relation of assent to inference, he partly agrees with Newman and partly differs. He agrees that all assents cannot be justified as inferences from experience and from

primary truths. But for Newman's "illative sense" he substitutes what he calls "interpretation by indirect reference." Briefly we say that where Newman bases certainty on a convergence of probabilities, Father D'Arcy bases it on an accumulation of evidence; his "interpretation by indirect reference" is a psychological analysis of the process by which an almost infinitely complex body of evidence may work towards the building up in our minds of real certitude; even when the evidence, owing to its very complexity, defies analysis. This is the author's answer to the problem of the certainty of "belief;" and in the last chapter he applies it to divine faith.

What is to be thought of it? As a psychological analysis of the method by which evidence may be brought to bear on the mind it is true and sound; as a justification of certitude I fear it does not get to the heart of the problem. How are we to judge when the evidence is reliable? Father D'Arcy answers: "There is good reason for thinking that the mind has the power of recognising when the complexity has reached the requisite degree for certainty," though "no rule of thumb can be given which will tell us once and for all when and where on all possible occasions this complexity is present." This answer is too vague to be satisfactory. The text-books of logic give a much more satisfactory one, at least for those certitudes which are based on human testimony, such as is the one which he frequently uses as an example: "England is an island." And where our assent is not based on testimony, must it not ultimately be based on inference—on a proceeding from known truths to unknown truths—and ultimately on those truths which we know by direct experience or because they are self-evident principles? I fear Father D'Arcy has not sufficiently emancipated himself from Newman's distrust of logical inference.

P. O'D.

A STUDY IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF MALEBRANCHE. By Ralph Withington Church, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon,) London: Allen and Unwin. 1931. Pp. 286. 10s. 6d.

THERE have been many signs lately of a revival of interest in Malebranche. The present work is the first extended account in English of his system. It confines itself to his philosophy, and does not treat of his theological doctrines. It gives a minute critical study of Malebranche's views, with the contemporary attacks on them and Malebranche's replies. The treatment is very analytical and coldly judicial, and perhaps lacking in

sympathy with the warm mysticism of the Oratorian. The author weighs, indeed, impartially the strong and weak points of the philosopher's arguments; but the decision leans towards the side of the critics, and Malebranche's system turns out to be a mass of inconsistencies and a philosophical fiasco. Not many philosophers, however, have succeeded in balancing their accounts evenly; and Malebranche's inconsistencies are mainly due to his having grasped firmly a great idea, to which the other parts of his system had to be adapted. This book, valuable as it is, would have been more attractive if the author had given a more sympathetic rendering of the philosopher's struggle to clarify his theory, and had dwelt more on whatever of constructive value is contained in his solution. It is significant that where he finds flat contradictions between Malebranche's earlier and later writings, others find merely a development of new.

Arnauld is the outstanding critic of Malebranche, and Dr. Church has done a useful work in giving us such a careful account of the philosophical duel between them. It was a period of active philosophical controversy; but to follow out the detail of this particular discussion has an interest which is not merely historical. What the two protagonists are debating are questions of perennial interest, fundamental issues in theory of knowledge. The Cartesian physics had altered the conditions of the problem and had given a modern setting to the old question: how transient modes of consciousness can be the medium in which eternal verities are apprehended.

Malebranche's solution—the vision of things in God—was regarded by himself as merely an extension of what he found in St. Augustine. A comparison between his doctrine and the Exemplarism of the Scholastics would have helped to place his theory in a clearer light.

This book brings out forcibly the various difficulties Malebranche encountered in working out his main idea. Many of these difficulties had been pointed out by Arnauld. They appear first in his vacillating account of the nature of perception—which, although it contains valuable elements, falls back, in its final version, on a crude occasionalism. Malebranche's psychology is particularly unsatisfactory: his theory of consciousness approximates to that of Hume; and in his anxiety to separate pure thought from the flux of consciousness, he has to regard the nature of the soul as a mystery. The point on which he was most pressed by his adversaries was the manner in which the world of things is represented in the Divine Mind. Malebranche's

final view is that " God sees all bodies in intelligible extension." Apart from the apparent likeness of this view to the theory of Spinoza, it raises the questions : how is this archetypal idea actualised in a plurality of forms, and how are these indivualised in our perceptions. The complicated discussions on these questions are carefully analysed in this work, and the breakdown of Malebranche's solution of them is acutely shown.

J. SHINE.

Poetry

THE PENAL MASS AND OTHER POEMS. By Canon Cunningham. Dublin : Talbot Press. 1930. 3s. 6d. net.

THE HARP OF LIFE. By Denis A. McCarthy, LL.D. Boston : Carrollton Publishing Company. 1930. 2 dollars.

OLD PASTURES. By Padraic Colum. London and New York : Macmillan. 1930. Pp. 48. 6s. net.

POEMS. By Hal D'Arcy. Dublin : Hodges, Figgis and Co. 1930. Pp. 191.

THE 1930 crop of what has for some time been called Anglo-Irish poetry is fairly represented in these four volumes. It may be doubted if that rivulet of English literature, even in the cases of Mangan or Moore or Ferguson, ever did or ever could attain high mastery of inspiration and expression ; it has ever inclined to a certain homely sedateness of style and thought, varied at times by what is humorous, or whimsical, or rollicking. At its best, it is a deflected portion of the main English stream, seeking to make itself distinctive by the texture of the land through which it flows and, as well as it can, by reflecting the sky that is far above it. These four collections, in various ways yet in many cognate streams, represent these factors. Within a generation there will be an end to the flowing of that " Anglo-Irish " stream of literature. It will be reabsorbed into English and be no more separate from that literature than Goldsmith was ; for like the works of Swift and of Burke, of Sheridan and even of Moore, Goldsmith is downright English and nothing else. What is not reabsorbed, will be received into the restored poetry of the Gael.

To that restored poetry the type of work collected in Canon Cunningham's very acceptable volume will be welcomed home. There will be a place for his earlier and more thoughtful work, well exemplified in the title-piece of the book, but even better in " The Road Home " and in the moving simplicity of the lines on Latteragh in Templederry. Even more welcome to the restored

main current of Gaelic will be the excellent and most distinctive lines of treatment devised by Canon Cunningham for his " Martinmas Goose," for " The Crowbar," " The Silencer," " The Deceiver," and " The Laundry "—which should be " The Churn Dash." These pieces, with their graver analogue in " Charity," are a real contribution, in form and style alike, to Irish poetry, while they illustrate perfectly the writer's personality and character, ever kindly, attractive, quietly yet humorously observant.

Dr. McCarthy writes abundantly and ever acceptably in the Catholic Reviews of America and elsewhere. While " The Penal Mass " of Canon Cunningham comes from North Tipperary, this Boston volume exhibits its best and most moving work when it keeps close to the memories of " Carrick Town," the southern town on the Suir, as it was more than a generation ago. With the most attractive of all these many poems, that on the Little Town itself, go those on its neighbours and its own separate streets, and the really admirable lines on " Tipperary." A deeper note is struck, on a graver theme, in the lines on " Where Mother Sleeps "—they rise to the universal, while profoundly personal and authentic.[1]

The high price of Padraic Colum's slim volume will debar it from wide appreciation. It is best when it is right at home, as in " The Tin-Whistle Player " and " Dublin Roads." The effort to deal with foreign thought and themes does not add to the effectiveness of either Mr. Colum or Dr. McCarthy as writers.

The same verdict applies to some parts of Mr. D'Arcy's well formed volume. He is at his best on themes like The Roads of Ireland, and is always good when his thoughts are on the Boyne Valley. T. K.

Religion

STUDIES OF THE SPANISH MYSTICS. By E. Allison Peers, M.A. Gilmour Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool. Vol. II. London : Sheldon Press. 1930. 18s.

THIS second volume of Professor Allison Peers's *Studies of the Spanish Mystics* is even more valuable to us than the first volume, which we reviewed in *Studies* of September 1927. The praise we gave that first volume we could repeat to-day with emphasis. The average reader who is interested in Catholic spirituality knows something about the great mystics studied in Volume I

[1] Since the above was written, we regret to announce the death of Dr. McCarthy in Boston at the age of 61.

—four out of the seven were fairly familiar figures—whereas in Volume II the proportion will probably be five out of thirteen. Of the total number of writers dealt with in these two volumes, St Ignatius of Loyola, St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross are the only three with whom the great public is familiar; the rest are mere names or known only by an odd volume for spiritual reading like St. Peter of Alcantara or Diego de Estella or Luis de la Puente. In giving us excellent and well-documented studies of these great Spaniards, who were the special glory of Spain's most glorious epoch, Professor Peers has made us all his debtors. He is doing for Spain what Bremond is doing for France, revealing a whole forgotten literature to the average man and giving the specialised student information and documents often beyond his reach.

Of the thirteen mystics studied in this second volume only one has incurred censure, Juan Falconi, and he was to a certain extent a victim of the Molinos scare after his death. Professor Peers's study of Falconi is of peculiar interest in view of the controversy on quietism. As we see in his preface, it was designed as an introduction to a special study of the sources of quietism. That study Professor Peers is reserving for a third volume, to which we shall look forward with the keenest interest. Originally he meant to conclude the present volume with a study of Molinos and his "sources" in orthodox Spanish mysticism, but he found that the resultant volume would be too huge. Let us hope he will not make us wait too long for this further volume.

I must confess that the interest with which I look forward to this third volume is not wholly free from malice; for I am keenly anxious to see how Professor Peers will deal with certain very fundamental questions in mystical theology which any exhaustive treatment of the quietist controversy will force on his attention. What distinguishes heterodox quietism from the orthodox "quietud?" Is "acquired contemplation" mystical or not? In what precisely does the "acquired contemplation" of Molinos differ from that of the orthodox Carmelites? And above all, what is the precise psychological character of mystical experience? Up to the present Professor Peers has left these questions open, with a hint here and a hint there; but he has not shown his own hand. I think he will be forced to reveal his own mind when he comes to deal with Molinos, and I am rather curious to know what it is. He is not of the household, yet he has a marvellous sympathy with everything truly Catholic, and a sympathy which seems to grow as he goes on. But for a little

slip like speaking of Carmelites and Dominicans as monks, and a tendency to regard the Blessed Sacrament as merely "institutional" and hence to show some surprise at the manner in which Tomás de Jesus writes of the Eucharistic union (p. 302), one would never dream of supposing that the Gilmour Professor of Spanish was other than a very fervent and enlightened Catholic.

JOHN HOWLEY

VON SEELE ZU SEELE. Von Peter Lippert, S.J. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. 1929. 2M. pp. viii×272.

FATHER Lippert is one of the best-known lecturers on spiritual topics in Germany to-day. This little book, a collection of spiritual letters originally published in the periodical *Seele*, was first published in 1925. It has met with remarkable success, the present edition bringing it up to the 53rd thousand. Its success has been probably due to the direct simplicity of thought and style that mark every page. Father Lippert has avoided a pitfall that lurks for German spiritual writers of to-day. The English language divides mankind into the upper and lower classes, by which terms it somewhat quaintly designates the rich and the poor. German has another division, "die Gebildeten"—those who have had the supreme blessing of secondary and university education—and the unfortunate rest of mankind. A good many German Catholic writers are addressing themselves to the much-needed task of evangelising the "Gebildeten." Some of them are unfortunately falling into the error of trying to flatter these Olmpians with the incense of a pseudo-scientific jargon, or of trying to render the water of Life more palatable to them by diluting it with the washy stream of psycho-therapy or some other ephemeral craze. Father Lippert's letters are mostly addressed to the "Gebildeten," but he is wise enough to realise that in matters of the soul the most "gebildet" of us are children. Accordingly, though he deals sympathetically with the doubts and difficulties that thinking men and women must have, his words of advice are strong, simple, and manly. The "sehr verehrte Herr Doktor," for instance, who is suffering from "Glaubenszweifel," is reasoned with good-humouredly, but in the end is given the homely advice to say his prayers better. Father Lippert's attitude seems to be the very best for dealing with the "Suchende" for whom he writes, sound sympathy for real intellectual difficulties, but no waste of time on those in whom vanity or moral weakness is fostering feebleness of faith.

F. McG.

YESTERDAYS OF AN ARTIST MONK. By Dom Willibrord Verkade, O.S.B. Translated from the original German by John L. Stoddard. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1930. 7s. 6d.

NARRATIVES of conversion can scarcely fail to be interesting when they combine, as in Newman's *Apologia* and Joergensens's *Autobiography*, literary power with sincerity, and this interest will be further enhanced if the personality of the convert is attractive and the setting of his story agreeable or unfamiliar.

The book before us possesses these advantages in a considerable degree. Dom Verkade is less " literary " than Joergensen, but the straightforward simplicity of his style has a power of its own. There can be no possible doubt of his sincerity. And the setting is unusual and delightful.

It was a strange destiny indeed that led this unbaptized member of an obscure Calvinistic sect, the Mennonites, from his native Zaandam in Holland to his present home in the German Benedictine Monastery of Beuron. It appears all the stranger when we find that his route to Beuron led him first to Paris, then to Brittany, then to Florence, Assisi, Rome, Fiesole, and even Copenhagen. A stay with an artist coterie in the Latin Quarter of Paris hardly looked like a first step on the road to Rome. Yet such it proved to be.

Intertwined with the author's own life story is that of the Danish Jew, Mogens Ballin, whom he first met in a public dance-hall in the Latin Quarter, and who, like himself, found his way into the Catholic Church, in which he persevered till his death in 1914.

As a psychological study of the process of conversion and of the influences, often most unlikely, that brought it about, this book is of great interest. But the author never wearies us with endless analyses of his soul-states. His book is full of simply, but vividly sketched pictures of his outward life and experience, whether he is painting portraits of the cows in the meadows of Hattem, talking art and literature in some café of the Quartier Latin, watching a May procession in Brittany, looking down upon Florence on a summer evening from his Franciscan convent in Fiesole, or listening for the first time to a grand High Mass in Beuron.

As for the translation, there is little or nothing to remind the reader that the work was not originally written in English. And that was to be expected ; for it comes from the pen of one who has already enriched Catholic literature with several valuable works, both original and translated. S. J. B.

Books received

ADAM KARL ... Le vrai Visage du Catholicisme. (Grasset, 15 fr.)
BARTMANN, B. ... Grundriss der Dogmatik. (Herder, 5 M.)
BAUMGARTNER, A. Happiness in Holiness. Adapted from the French of Joseph of Dreux, O.M. Cap. (Bruce Publishing Co.)
BELLOC, HILAIRE Essays of a Catholic. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).
BOISSIEU, R. P. DE Béthanie. Les Madeleines réhabilitées. (Grasset, 15fr.).
BRIAULT, M. ... Polytheism and Fetishism. (Sands, 3/6).
BUTLER, ALBAN ... Lives of the Saints. Vol. III.—March. Edited by Herbert Thurston, S.J., (Burns Oates, 7/6).
CAUSSADE, JEAN DE On Prayer. Instructions on the various States of Prayer according to Bossuet. (Burns Oates, 6/-).
CHURCH, R. W. ... A Study in the Philosophy of Malebranche. (Allen & Unwin, 10/6).
CONCANNON, MRS. Saint Patrick: Life and Mission. (Talbot Press, 6/-).
Irish Nuns in Penal Days. (Sands, 2/6).
CORKERY, DANIEL Synge and Anglo-Irish Literature. (Cork University Press, 7/6).
COTTER, A. C. ... Cosmologia. (Boston: Stratford Co., $3.50).
CREUSEN, JOSEPH Religious Men and Women in Church Law. (Bruce Publishing Co., $2.75).
DABIN, PAUL ... L'Apostolat laïque. (Bloud & Gay, 12 fr.).
DAHMEN, PIERRE Robert de Nobili. Première Apologie, 1610. Texte latin traduit et annoté. (Editions Spes, 25 fr.).
DINNIS, ENID ... Out of Everywhere. (Sands, 3/6).
DONNELLY, FRANCIS Persuasive Speech. An Art of Rhetoric for College. (Kenedy, $2.25).
EDMONDS, U. M. Practical and Artistic Activities in the Schools. (Allen & Unwin, 6/-).
EDWARDS, OLIVER Englische Dichtung aus Goethes Zeitalter im Licht deutscher Kunstlehre. (Bonn: Roehrscheid, 6 M.).
ELLIS, E. K. ... St. Patrick and other Poems. (Heffer, 2/6).
FORAN, E. A. ... Augustinian Miscellanea. (Burns Oates, 1/6).
FURFEY, PAUL ... New Lights on Pastoral Problems. (Bruce Publishing Co., $1.0).
GARSTANG, JOHN Joshua Judges. (Constable, 20/-).
GEARON, P. J. ... Spiritism. Its Failure. (Burns Oates, 3/6.)
GOLDSTEIN, DAVID Campaigners for Christ Handbook. (Boston: Flynn, $1.00).
GOODMAN, FATHER St. Philomena. (Sydney: Pellegrini, 9d.).
GOUGAUD, LOUIS Anciennes Coutumes claustrales. (Ligugé, pp. 121).
GRATRY, ALPHONSE The Well-Springs. Translated by Stephen J. Brown, S.J. (Burns Oates, 5/-).
GRIMAUD, CHARLES Bébé grandit. Téqui, 10 fr.).
HEARD, GERALD ... Social Substance of Religion. An Essay on the Evolution of Religion. (Allen & Unwin, 10/6).
HOGAN, DAVID ... Dark Mountain and other Stories. (Talbot Press, 5/-).
HUSSERL, EDMUND Ideas. General Introduction to Phenomenonology. (Allen & Unwin, 16/-).
JOANNES, G. ... Le Cardinal Mercier. Docteur de la vie intérieure. (Téqui, 8 fr.).
JOLIVET, REGIS Essai sur le Bergsonisme. (Emmanuel Vitte, 15 fr.).
LANG, L. WYATT A Study of Conversion. (Allen & Unwin, 10/6).
LE BUFFE, FRANCIS Our Father—Hail Mary. (American Press, 30 cents).

Locke, John ...	Essay concerning the Understanding. Edited, with introduction, by B. Rand. (Oxford Press, 15/-).
Luisseau, Abbe	Manuel d'études bibliques. Tome V. (IIe. Partie). (Téqui, 30 fr.).
McKenna, Canon	Devenish. History, Antiquities, Traditions. (Gill, 2/-).
McKenna, Lambert	Philip Bocht O Huiginn. (Talbot Press, 10/-).
Merkelbach, B.	Summa Theologiae Moralis. De Principiis. (Desclée De Brouwer, 60 fr.).
Merne, John G.	Handbook of Celtic Ornament. (Educational Co. of Ireland, 7/6).
Mother St. Paul	Vita Christi. Meditations on Our Lord's Public Life. Second Year. (Longmans, 5/-).
Mourret, F. ...	The Papacy. (Sands, 3/6).
Olivero, Federico	Studi Britannici. (Torino: Bocca, L. 20).
O Rinn, Liam ...	Eochair na bhFlathas. (Talbot Press, 2/6).
Pilet, Francois ...	The Secret Way of the Enclosed Garden after Bl. Grignion de Montfort. (Burns Oates, 5/-).
Resch, P. ...	La Doctrine ascétique des premiers maitres égyptiens du quatrième siècle. (Beauchesne, 32 fr.).
Ryan, John ...	Stair na hEireann. Michael Breathnach do chuir i nGaedhilg. (Brún agus O Naulláin, 2/6).
Severin, Tony ...	S. Jean Berchmans. Ses Ecrits. (Museum Lessianum, 35 fr.).
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Smith, Margaret	Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East. (Sheldon Press, 12/6).
Steuart, R. H. J.	March, Kind Comrade. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).
Tanquery, A. ...	The Spiritual Life. A Treatise on Ascetical and Mystical Theology. (Tournai: Desclée, 10/-).
Tramontano, R.	La Lettera di Aristea a Filocrate. (Civiltà Cattolica, L. 50).
Vezere, Jean ...	Marie Stella. (Bonne Presse, 5 fr.).
Waddell, Helen	Book of Medieval Latin for Schools. (Constable, 2/6).

La Hiérarchie catholique et le problème social depuis l'Encyclique " Rerum Novarum." (Editions Spes, 40 fr.).

Vigile. Premier Cahier. (Desclée De Brouwer, 30 fr.).

Herder & Co. Haupt-Katalog. II Band, 1913-1929. (Herder, 3 M.).

Journal of the American Irish Historical Society. Vol. XXIX, 1930-31. (The Society, pp 344).

The New Testament. Vol. IV. By Canon Boylan, Francis Gigot, W. H. Kent. (Longmans, 8/6).

God. Papers read at the 1930 Cambridge Summer School of Catholic Studies. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).

Opuscula et Textus. Fasc. IX. Gualteri Cancellarii et Bartholomaei de Bononia Quaestiones ineditae de Assumptione B. V. Mariae. (Aschendorff, 1.20 M.).

Elle! . . . Notre Mère, Notre Modèle. Par l'auteur de " Lui." (Desclée De Brouwer, pp. 303).

The Love of God. St. Francis de Sales' Treatise abridged by the Sisters of the Visitation, Harrow Hill. (Sands, 7/6).

Analecta Hibernica. Nos. I-II. (Stationery Office, 5/- each).

Catholic Who's Who, 1931. (Burns Oates, 5/-).

Catholic Directory, 1931. (Burns Oates, 3/6).

The " Play-an-O " Method of teaching Christian Doctrine. (Coldwell, 2/9).

(*The prices of all books in this list are net*).

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AUDITOR:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, ESQ., Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street.

HEAD OFFICE—COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 27th day of July, 1931.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1931, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ...	£53,853	7	8
To which has to be added:—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	36,142	19	5
	£89,996	7	1
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of ...	£10,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows viz.:—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Twelve and a half per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	31,250	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	7,500	0	0
To next Account	41,246	7	1
	£89,996	7	1

The Reserve Fund now stands at £700,000

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS,

General Manager.

DUBLIN, 13th July, 1931.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1931. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
To Capital, viz.:—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000: amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	467,681 14 4
„ Reserve Fund	700,000 0 0	„ Investments, viz.:—	
„ Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ... 439,000 0 0		War Loan, Irish Free State National Loans and other Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding as per contra) ...	6,000,645 19 6
Less: Held by the Bank ... 47,943 0 0	391,057 0 0	Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and other Securities	230,685 11 3
„ Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	11,633,730 0 0		6,699,013 5 1
„ Sundry Agents	38,310 2 1	„ Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	6,431,923 6 9
„ Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	8,188 3 1	„ Sundry Agents	503 16 9
„ Profit and Loss Account ... £89,996 7 1		„ Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), written down to	219,841 3 8
Less: Transferred to Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0	79,996 7 1		
	£13,351,281 12 3		£13,351 281 12 3

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 30th June, 1931.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	107,586 5 6	By Balance from last Account ...	36,142 19 5
„ Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000 0 0	„ Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies	161,439 13 2
„ Dividend to be paid in August, 1931, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ s. d. 31,250 0 0			
„ Bank Premises Acct. 7,500 0 0			
„ Balance to next Acct. 41,246 7 1	79,996 7 1		
	£197,582 12 7		£197,582 12 7

AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 30th June, 1931, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
DUBLIN, 13th July, 1931. Chartered Accountant, Auditor

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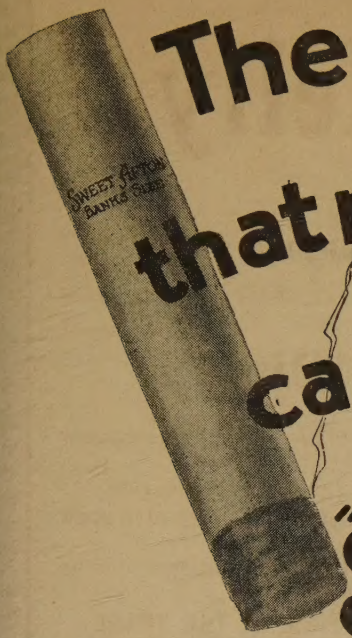

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